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# **East Europe Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 1991**



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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

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CHURCH-STATE CONFLICT OVER MILITARY SERVICE INTENSIFYING

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 4 Feb 82 p 4

['Abroad' feature article by 'sk', datelined Berlin, 2 February: "Growing Tensions Between Church and State in GDR." Translations of Hamburg DER SPIEGEL articles on church-state conflict over peace movements in GDR and church's proposal for 'alternative military service' are published under the heading "Goals of, Reactions to Pacifist Movements Reported," in JPRS 79971, 28 Jan 82, No 1969 of this series, pp 6-14]

[Text] Results of the Synod in Herrnhut

The synod of the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR dealt with questions of church canon and church policy during its meeting in Herrnhut from 29 to 31 January. Because of a prohibition on reporting by Western correspondents imposed by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the meeting took on a special political accent. The deliberations of the synod were marked by the growing tensions between state and church which since the Polish crisis and the GDR's campaign against NATO's rearmament resolution cannot be ignored.

Regret About the Prohibition on Reporting

In his welcoming address, Wismar merchant Wahrmann, president of the synod, went into these tensions when he regretted the prohibition by the state on reporting and at the same time established that the church had no influence on this decision by the state. Rather, the church was interested in comprehensive reporting about the synod whose plenary sessions were public. Bishop Krusche of Magdeburg, reelected president of the League's synod, became even clearer when, in view of the apparent tendency on the part of the state to impose a ban of silence on the church in the GDR, he expressly warned of a "silent church," yet at the same time pleaded for a "policy of reasonable interaction" between church and state.

In this, the Protestant church in the GDR is referring to a 6 March 1978 conversation with National Council Chairman Honecker in which a limited respect between church and state in dealings with one another was agreed upon. This course, which in subsequent years was pursued with a grain of salt, however, cannot obscure the existing opposition between the Christian claim of the church and the atheistic ideology of the state. The gulf has become wider again since the Protestant church is publicly asserting its Christian claim in respect to the communist education of youth and in the question of the decision of conscience in respect to military service.

## Claim to "Social Peace Service"

The discussions of the League's synod in Herrnhut have made it clear that the Protestant Christians in the GDR, even in a situation which has become more difficult, do not intend to back off in their Christian concerns in respect to the atheistic state. This is especially true of the demand for establishing a "social peace service" as a substitute for military service in the GDR People's Army. Of course, all efforts by the church in this matter have thus far been unsuccessful.

In front of the synod, reference was made to the fact that Gysi, GDR state secretary for church questions, had affirmed "clearly and unmistakably" the denial by the state of the present suggestions by the church for establishing a social peace service. Also, the suggestion by the church, "within the context of the constitution," to develop service without weapons in the National People's Army's construction troops in such a way that these units would be used for urgent social tasks which would have no military characters, was likewise rejected, as was the request for a review of the current regulations in the case of service by reservists and in premilitary training from the point of view of the freedom of faith and conscience which is guaranteed in the GDR constitution.

In view of this "disappointing" attitude on the part of the state, the League's synod urged the young Protestant Christians in the GDR not to become resigned, but at the same time warned them against demonstrative actions. The Protestant churches in the GDR, of course, do not want to let the thread of discussion with the state be broken, but at the same time they have made it unmistakably clear that in the future they also want to take into consideration the anxiety of young Christians which is caused by the growing militarization of the social life in the GDR.

With great determination the synod objected vigorously that the negative attitude of young people toward military service is suspected by the state as being "hostile to peace." With that, the synod again clearly took a position against a statement by Walde, director of the SED in Cottbus Bezirk. At a meeting of the SED Central Committee in November of last year Walde had characterized social peace service as a "phrase" and advocacy for this request as "hostile to peace, socialism and the constitution."

With the same persistence as in their advocacy of a social peace service, the Protestant churches in the GDR at the synod in Herrnhut insisted upon the fact that the Christian religious commitment of children, young people and parents had to be respected even in communist controlled training and education. In particular, it objected to the fact that young Christians, in contrast to their fellow pupils, are disadvantaged by purposely negative reports in the schools and by obstruction to admission to institutions of more advanced training.

## Obliging Tone

In spite of the situation of the Protestant churches in the GDR, which is becoming more difficult, in their criticism of the state the synod members tried for a moderate tone. Apparently the church, in safeguarding its point of view, does not

want through incautious criticism to endanger the limited respect assured it by Honecker. Therefore, this is also no doubt how the comment at the synod is to be understood that the necessary authorizations for care packages to support Polish communities and church facilities had readily been issued by the GDR Ministry for Foreign Trade.

Bishop Krusche, reelected the League's synod president, will be 65 in November and will occupy this office only until the end of the year.

12124

CSO: 2300/136

RUSSO-PRUSSIAN ALLIANCE OF 1813 TIED TO GDR-SOVIET ALLIANCE

Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in German 9 Oct 81 'wir' supplement p 2

['Past and Current History' feature article by Dr Gerd Fesser: "A Wholesome Catastrophe--On the 175th Anniversary of the Battles of Jena and Auerstedt."]

[Text] History has recorded more than a few examples of how reactionary classes of exploiters or parts of them are inclined to dangerously false estimates of the division of power and of how they seek to cover up their own weakness by adventurous actions. An excellent example of this is the behavior of the Prussian Junkers in late summer and fall of 1806, when a military conflict between France and Prussia was in the air. The Prussian army was about to engage a combat-experienced force led by a genius of a strategist, a force that had a year earlier beaten the combined armies of two great powers--Russia and Austria.

As astonishing as it may sound, the arrogant Prussian Junker officers anticipated the approaching struggle with superconfidence. General von Ruechel twanged, "His Majesty's army has several generals of the quality of Mr. Bonaparte." A colonel even lamented that "the brave Prussians are carrying guns and sabers when sticks would suffice to run the French dogs back to their country." On 8 October the French army began marching from its points of concentration in the area of Bamberg and Bayreuth and only 6 days later, on the 14th of the month, a battle was fought near Jena and Auerstedt.

Superior Tactics of the Sharpshooters

At Jena, approximately 53,000 Prussian and Saxon soldiers faced 96,000 Frenchmen; these figures include the reinforcements that joined both sides during the day. The outcome was decided in the fight for the village of Vierzeheiligen. This phase of the battle demonstrated especially clearly the tremendous tactical superiority of the French and the incredible stupidity of the Prussian generals. The Prussian infantry fought according to the rules of the outdated linear tactics; the French, on the other hand, used sharpshooters in the manner that had been developed in the American War of Independence. As a matter of principle, the Prussians advanced without the slightest cover in a close battleline consisting of three ranks and fired rounds without proper aim, whereas the French adapted to the terrain and, where necessary, fought in spreadout groups of marksmen.



The Prussian commander, Prince zu Hohenlohe-Ingelfingen, positioned his troops in front of Vierzehnheiligen as pedantically as if he were on a drill field, thus turning his soldiers into one gigantic target. From the houses and hedges of the village, the French infantrymen overwhelmed the enemy with murderous, carefully aimed fire. When the Prussian-Saxon battleline had suffered severe losses and had become disorganized, it was broken by deep echelons of French infantry columns and cavalry units and forced to flee.

If Napoleon himself won an easy victory at Jena, his marshal Davout performed a significant military feat at Auerstedt (more exactly, near the village of Hassenhausen). With 27,000 men he defeated the main Prussian army, which numbered 50,000. Here were the commander-in-chief, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, and King Frederick William III; by the way, Bluecher and Scharnhorst were also present.

#### Prussian State Collapsed like a House of Cards

When Napoleon smashed the Prussian army on a single day and the Prussian state collapsed like a house of cards, many contemporaries were aghast. However, the disaster was logical and inevitable because the Prussian state was rotten to the core. In this bulwark of feudal reaction, the clocks had been stopped 20 years before upon the death of Frederick II. The Junker class and the clique at court blocked all progress--even in military matters.

The example of linear tactics easily proves the point that the weaknesses of the old Prussian army system resulted directly from the outmoded feudal conditions in the country. This method of fighting was hopelessly inferior to the sharpshooter tactics of the French, and the more aware Prussian officers knew it too. There was an infantry regiment in the Prussian army commanded by Yorck that had already adopted more modern riflemen's tactics and that in 1806 made a splendid showing in the action near Altenzaun. Why could the new tactics not be introduced everywhere? Yorck's regiment consisted of the sons of forestry officials who served until they themselves obtained positions as foresters.

#### New Social Factors Showed Their Effect

Thus these soldiers had an incentive to excel. All other infantry regiments were comprised by the impressed sons of peasant serfs or by foreign mercenaries. The linear tactics had to be retained in these units because only so could the officers constantly see their soldiers and prevent desertions. Only after the disaster of 1806/7 did it finally begin to dawn on the Prussian government, as Friedrich Engels remarked, that the sons of free French peasants who owned their own land could not be vanquished with the sons of serfs who could be evicted from their farms at any time. At last Prussia realized that the peasant is also a human being.

The collapse of the old Prussian military state in 1806/7 produced tremendous and most contradictory results. First, the victorious Bonaparte radically rewrote the political map of Central Europe. Prussia lost about half of her territory and population. Apart from Prussia and Austria, all the German states joined the so-called Rhine Confederation, partly of their own free will, partly as a result of pressure. The Confederation was headed by Napoleon as "protector."



It soon became evident that Napoleon's victory was also an irrevocable victory of the rising capitalist system over rotten feudalism. The states of the Rhine Confederation and Prussia followed the French example in carrying out a number of civil reforms, in introducing freedom of trade and passing progressive legislation.

This was, of course, only one side of the coin. At the same time the occupying French subjected Germany, especially Prussia, to unprecedented financial exploitation. In the following years the members of the Rhine Confederation had to supply Napoleon with troops over and over again for him to use as cannon fodder in his endless wars of conquest. And the subordination of all Germany to the greed for profit of the French upper middle class inflicted severe damage on trade and commerce in general.

#### Tradition of the People's Army Established

The ultrareactionary clique at the Prussian court that ruled until 1806 was so discredited that for a time patriotic reformers like Stein and Scharnhorst had to be selected for top military and political positions. With iron determination these patriots prepared for the war of liberation, completely modernized the army and activated the masses of the people. Their hour came when Napoleon's "Grand Army" had been destroyed in Russia. The fiery old Bluecher wrote to Scharnhorst, "It is now time to do what I advised in 1809, that is, call the entire nation to arms and if the princes don't want to and resist, send them packing along with Bonaparte."

King Frederick William III, who was forever wavering, and the ultrareactionary nobility were very much opposed, but, under the pressure of the masses and patriotic military reformers, they had to form an alliance with Russia and begin the war of independence. Almost exactly seven years after the disaster at Jena, on 16 October 1813, began the Battle of Nations at Leipzig, in which Russian and German soldiers cast off the yoke of Napoleon's foreign domination in their common unselfish struggle.

We hold the memory of this joint effort dear, since it established the tradition of German-Russian brotherhood in arms, which has culminated in the unshakable socialist alliance between the Soviet Army and our National People's Army.

9873

CSO: 2300/126

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY IN COUNTRY ASSESSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 5, May 81 pp 141-149

[Article by Janusz Symonides; a report prepared for the national conference of representatives of the science of international relations organized by the Polish Institute of International Affairs [PISM] in June 1981]

## I

[Text] In order to answer the question of what complicates the development of research on contemporary international relations in our country, and in order to point out at least several methods for eliminating these obstacles, it is necessary to present, at least briefly, the state of this discipline, its achievements and its weaknesses.

A detailed presentation of all directions of research, due to the scope of the science of international relations, would be a task beyond the framework of this paper. However, we should state that in the second half of the 1970's, this discipline underwent marked development. This was particularly evident in the scope of subjects researched. The broadening of the research front has been, above all, the result of the opening of a number of new institutes and centers, as well as the associated increase in the number of specialists studying international relations.

During this period, the Institute of Socialist Countries (Instytut Krajów Socialistycznych) in the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism (Instytut Badań Współczesnych Problemów Kapitalizmu), the Institute of International Relations of Warsaw University (Instytut Stosunków Międzynarodowych Uniwersytecu Warszawskiego) and the Research Center for Peace (Centrum Badań nad Pokojem) all arose. The Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism (Instytut Podstawowych Problemów Marksizmu-Leninizmu) took up aspects of international issues. Branches of the Polish Institute of International Affairs (Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych) [PISM] likewise arose in Krakow and Torun. The development of political science has led to formal and informal groups studying international relations at many schools. More recently two new research centers opened for the study of international economic relations: the Institute of World Economy (Instytut Gospodarki Światowej) and the PAN Institute of Economics (Instytut Ekonomii).

Research on international issues of socialist countries is being conducted primarily at the Institute of Socialist Countries, at the Higher School of Social Sciences (Wyższa Szkoła Nauk Społecznych) [WSNS] under the PZPR Central Committee, at the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, at PISM and, for international economic relations, at the Institute of Trends and Prices (Instytut Konjunktur i Cen) [IKiC] and the Main School of Planning and Statistics (Szkoła Główna Planowania i Statystyki) [SGPiS].

The major centers for research concerned with political and socioeconomic issues of developing countries are the SGPiS Institute of the Economy of Developing Countries (Instytut Gospodarki Krajów Rozwijających się), the Warsaw University [UW] Institute of the Geography of Developing Countries (Instytut Geografii Krajów Rozwijających się) and PISM.

Foreign policy and, in part, the domestic policy of major capitalist countries are the subjects of interest at the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism (Instytut Badania Współczesnych Problemów Kapitalizmu), the Institute for Western Affairs (Instytut Zachodni), the Silesian Institute (Instytut Śląski) in Opole, the Silesian Scientific Institute (Śląski Instytut Naukowy) in Katowice and the UW Institute for International Affairs (Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych). Economic relations are studied in particular at IKiC, the Institute of World Economy and at economics schools.

Research on disarmament, international security and on peace in a more general sense is conducted, above all, at PISM, at the Research Center for Peace, at the Military Political Academy (Wojskowa Akademia Polityczna), at the General Staff Academy (Akademia Sztabu Generalnego) and at SGPiS.

The opening of new centers and institutes has not surmounted all the traditional shortcomings of Polish research on contemporary international relations. One of these shortcomings is an overemphasis on history, to the neglect of current topics of such great importance as the problems of socialist countries. The research gaps continue, both in terms of territorial scope and subject matter. For example, while there has been much concentration on and significant development in research on German subjects, which is explained by our national interest and practical needs, studies of the foreign policy of other major capitalist states (besides the United States) have been insufficient. In regard to developing countries, while research on Africa has been fairly intensive, interest in Latin America has been less. What's more, studies on Polish foreign policy and our place in the world are lacking.

In evaluating the results of research in terms of its merits--i.e., the level attained by it--while in most cases the analytical-descriptive aspect and the ideological function engender no doubts, as a rule the theoretical and prognostic aspects are clearly lacking.

In the evaluations and postulates formulated about international relations in conjunction with preparation for the Second Congress of Polish Science, commentators agreed that one of the weaknesses of the science of international relations is the lack of theoretical studies. However, substantial progress

has been made in Poland in this area. Research on the theory of international relations has been undertaken at the Central Methodical Political Science Center (Centralny Ośrodek Metodyczny Nauk Politycznych), at the UW Institute for International Affairs, at PISM, at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań and at Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. A monograph by J. Kukulka entitled "Problems of the Theory of International Relations" ["Problemy teorii stosunków międzynarodowych"] was published in 1978.

In the development of research on theory and methodology, an issues team studying these questions and functioning within the framework of MR. III. 3 [Interministerial III. 3] topic entitled "Socioeconomic Changes and the Foreign Policy of Capitalist and Developing Countries,"\* has played an essential role. The result of this work has been the publication of a collection of 10 studies using the "small-scale printing" technique. These studies treat such subjects as the categories making up the science of international relations and the theory of policy and international relations. This issues team has also organized a series of meetings and conferences devoted to the theory of international relations.

The considerable progress made in research on the general theory of international relations has not yet been accompanied by a parallel raising of the theoretical level of studies and the creation of partial theories.

## II

The answer to the questions of how we are to increase the effectiveness of research, how we are to take advantage of the considerable potential existing within the academic community, how we are to surmount the existing shortcomings caused by the unnecessary duplication of subjects, by gaps, by diffuseness and sometimes by unsound research preferences, is obvious: above all by improved organization of research and by streamlined cooperating among all centers engaged in the study of contemporary international relations.

Given a situation where these issues are researched by ministerial or regional institutes and centers, by institutes and centers under PAN or connected with schools and under the management of several ministries, a basic level of coordination is indispensable, at least to ensure that initial information concerning scientific-research plans, the assignment of the cadre and work being conducted is mutually known. Without proper research organization, contact between application and the natural theoretical base is very difficult.

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See A. Lopatka, "The State and Prospects of Polish Political Research," *STUDIA NAUK POLITYCZNYCH*, 1973, No 3, p 37; J. Symonides, "The State and Prospects of the Development of Research on Contemporary International Relations," *STUDIA NAUK POLITYCZNYCH*, 1973, No 1, p 194.

\*Directing particular subjects were A. Bodnar, J. Kukulka, K. Sobczak and J. Palyga. The work of the entire issues team was directed by J. Symonides.



Due to the nature of things, it is limited primarily to ministerial arrangements: in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ]—PISM with its two branches in Krakow and Torun—in the Ministry of Foreign Trade [MHZ]—the IKiC—and in the Ministry of Justice [MS]—the Institute of Judicial Law (Instytut Prawa Sadowego).

Practice has long been aware of the need to coordinate scientific research plans and to streamline scholarly feedback; such attempts have been made for several years. As a result of discussions conducted between MSZ and the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology [MNSzWiT], in mid-1975 the minister of MNSzWiT, by agreement with the minister of MSZ, created the Interministerial Council for the Coordination of Scientific Research and the Training of Cadres to Meet the Needs of Foreign Relations. The council was conceived as a consultative and advisory organ; tasks within the council's scope of scientific research include:

- a) presenting opinions and participating in preparing comprehensive drafts to coordinate scientific-research work;
- b) inspiring scientific-research work;
- c) evaluating the scientific level and the practical applicability of research;
- d) analyzing and evaluating the structure and effectiveness of research outlays.

PISM performed the functions of the secretariat of the council. Representatives of the majority of scientific, academic, ministerial and regional centers, as well as representatives of MSZ, MNSzWiT, MHZiGM [Ministry of Foreign Trade and Maritime Economy], MON [Ministry of National Defense] and the Department and Planning Commission of the PZPR Central Committee made up the 35-member council, which was chaired by Prof Dr Alfons Klafkowski. A concrete result of the council's activities was the collection and then the preliminary evaluation of research subjects from the sphere of international relations taken up by scientific institutions under both ministries. The council ceased its activities at the close of 1976/beginning of 1977. One reason for this was the fact that neither did it have any formal powers, nor did it have any real effect on the development of an organizational concept regarding the essential makeup of work concerning central and interministerial subjects.

In conjunction with the new organization of scientific research in Poland, between 1975 and 1980 there arose the hope that many elements of the coordination of research activity would be attained somewhat naturally, by means of a system of central, interministerial and ministerial problems, within which the subject matter of international relations would be found, broadly conceived. This subject matter was represented by topics W. 11. 6 [Central 11. 6]. "Processes of the International Economic Integration of Socialist Countries," coordinated by IKiC; by MR. III. 3 [Interministerial III. 3] "Socioeconomic Changes of Capitalist and Developing Countries," coordinated by the SGPiS Institute of the Economy of Developing Countries; and by R. III. 4



[Ministerial III. 4] "Problems of German History and Slavic-German and German-Polish Relations" and R. III. 11 [Ministerial III. 11] "East-West Economic Relations."

The program of central research thus conceived essentially did not generally consider the problems connected with international political relations, including the theory and methodology of international relations. As a result of efforts undertaken by MSZ and PISM, the foreign policy of capitalist and developing countries has been included in topic MR. III. 3 [Interministerial III. 3]. It has also been expanded by five issues teams localized within PISM:

- I. problems of global politics and peaceful coexistence;
- II. Security and cooperation in Europe;
- III. problems of armaments and disarmament;
- IV. problems connected with the German issue;
- V. theory and methodology of research in the sphere of international relations.

The hopes tied in with the creation of these five issues teams have been implemented in varying degrees. This has been due to more and more limited financial outlays and to the fact that PISM is a budgetary unit without its own account.

It is projected for 1981-1985 that topic W.11.6 [Central 11.6] will be continued, as will topic MR.III.3 [Interministerial III.3], limited to the world economy and international economic cooperation. We note with satisfaction that among the six new focal and interministerial subjects, two concern international relations. These are topics MR.III.21 [Interministerial III.21], "The German States in the System of European Security," coordinated by the Institute for Western Affairs. The introduction of these two new interministerial topics permits better organized research, since five issues teams are included in topic MR.III.21, covering problems connected with international relations within a broad scope!

1. Poland in the process of the development of a system of security and international cooperation;
2. tendencies in the foreign policy of major groups of states and selected countries and peaceful coexistence;
3. major factors of competition and cooperation among states with different sociopolitical systems (socioeconomic and ideological aspects);
4. problems of peace, international security, armaments and disarmament and the avoidance of international conflict;

5. contemporary theories of international relations and the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence.

There should be added to the list of subjects coordinated on the national level the problem "The Community of Socialist States, Its Developmental Tendencies and Prospects in the Contemporary World," being implemented during the current 5-year plan by the Institute of Socialist Countries.

That of the most important questions of the science of international relations are found within the system of centrally coordinated problems is indisputably recognized as an important step in the organization of research in this discipline. Nevertheless, since international problems do not encompass the entire field of international relations either from the point of view of their subjective or their objective scope, their existence cannot exclude the urgent need to create a comprehensive coordination arrangement that would include such elements as a national plan of research, a system of subject and personnel information and the mutual ties between science and practice.

There appear to be several possibilities for resolving this question and for creating an appropriate coordination organ. If we consider the problems resulting from the various types of subordination of institutes and research centers, and the necessity of possessing a minimum amount of authority with regard to research topics implemented (as seen from the experience of the previous council), the best solution would be to appoint a Committee for the Study of International Relations within the framework of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It seems that despite the many noteworthy efforts of the Political Science Committee, it is not in a position to play the role of coordinator of the study of international relations.

Another possibility is to repeat the attempts at a coordination council appointed by the minister of science, higher education and technology and the minister of foreign affairs. However, the drawing of conclusions from shortcomings in the organization of the former council would be indispensable. In particular, the powers of the council with regard to interministerial subjects would have to be defined clearly from the very beginning and at least the directors of particular problems would have to be included in its makeup.

Independently of the creation of an appropriate "central" coordination organ, the activation or intensification of horizontal ties within the particular subdisciplines or specializations is indispensable, along with the eventual creation of centers that would have the duty of organizing various forms of such cooperation: from the exchange of information, through meetings, scientific conferences and discussions, to joint publications. This type of cooperation would certainly lead to raising the level of research effectiveness and to reducing unnecessary duplication. It would also ensure the contact with practice that is essential in many fields. At one time the Coordinating Committee for German Studies played such a role.

It appears that even without the institutionalization of such cooperation and contacts, it is possible to point out research centers that, without violating anyone's prerogatives and authority, could play a leading role in particular fields. Thus, for example, in the area of socialist countries, the Institute of Socialist Countries or the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism could play such a role; for developing countries, PISM; for U.S. issues, the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism; for Scandinavian issues, the Baltic Institute (Instytut Bałtycki); for disarmament and international security, PISM; for the international workers' movement, the Institute of the International Workers' Movement in WSNS; for the theory of international relations, the Central Methodical Center or the Institute of International Relations of Warsaw University. This type of assignment could be easily expanded for the remaining specializations.

Another condition for the improved coordination of research and mutual inspiration is a suitable level of cooperation between institutes and research centers. For several years, PISM, together with MSZ, has organized annual meetings for directors of institutes of international affairs. Consideration should be given to the need for annual meetings not only for directors and managers of centers working with international relations, but also for annual scholarly and organizational meetings for all or the majority of academic employees who pursue this discipline, as well as the representatives of the director's staffs of interested ministries.

The level of and possibilities for the development of research on international relations are governed, to a considerable degree, by problems of access to world literature, especially current literature, as well as by the insufficiency of the documentation base; in a word, by the impossibility of gathering together the minimum of materials indispensable for the pursuit of this discipline.

While the situation in Warsaw, despite insufficient funds for the purchase of current literature, may be considered adequate (due to the existence of a number of libraries; e.g., PISM, MSZ, the University of Warsaw Library, the National Library, the Sejm Library and the Library of the Central Office of Statistics [GUS]), outside Warsaw the situation is very difficult and sometimes hopeless. This applies in particular to higher schools outside Warsaw.

Since the demand for an increase in foreign exchange resources to make library purchases is unrealistic given the current situation, other solutions must be considered. One of these could be the greater specialization of particular centers. If each of several employees of the same school has a different specialization, this makes the accumulation of reasonable collections impossible. Specialization also creates a greater opportunity for the acquisition of literature and documentation through broader participation in national and international cooperation.

Given reduced resources for foreign exchange purchases, we should honestly ask whether we ought not protect highly specialized libraries that, by fulfilling conditions of general accessibility, would guarantee at least the minimum of contact with worldwide scholarship. As a sidenote, a team of



PISM employees, having this in mind, proposed a drastic cut in funding for trips abroad to allow the continued accumulation of periodicals of significance both to the institute and to all of Poland as well. Given the current lack of specialization among centers, the dispersal of resources for foreign exchange purchases may lead to a situation where access to all publications acquired in this manner will be impossible or exceedingly troublesome. Another possibility for broadening the documentation base from international organizations belonging to the United Nations system and from special foundations.

The publication of documents, translations and previews of specialized literature, as well as pertinent articles, creates some possibility for moderating difficulties in this sphere. New materials of interest have been published through so-called "small-scale printing" methods by such centers as the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, the Central Methodical Center and IKiC. PISM concentrates on publishing source materials, primarily through its periodical publishing of ZBIOR DOKUMENTOW, which unfortunately has been delayed about 2 years despite tremendous efforts and the fact that PISM is not to blame. Special collections of documents have been devoted to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] and to the Vienna negotiations; the publication of documents on the politics of the Chinese People's Republic continues. We may consider whether we ought not expand this type of activity considerably now in all institutes, making use of published periodicals for this purpose.

#### IV

With regard to the state of the academic cadre in international relations, the situation is fairly good. Approximately 200 specialists are employed in ministerial institutes and PAN, over 150 specialists work in the higher school system of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology and about 50 are employed in the schools of other ministries. Thus, about 400 employees pursue international relations professionally, as a basic discipline of study.

The distribution of the cadre is uneven. The largest of the research centers, PISM, employs 57 scholars; the Institute of Socialist Countries, 48; the Institute for Western Affairs, 42; the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, 24. In the higher school system, the largest centers are the SGPIIS Institute for the Economy of Developing Countries and the UW Institute for International Relations, which employs 21 workers.

Of course, it is not the number of employees that determines the level of scholarly discipline, but their preparation and activity. While at the beginning of the 1970's the majority of those pursuing international relations worked in this field from the angle of specific component disciplines (the history of diplomacy, international law, sociology, international economic relations, etc.), and more second-generation specialists have done their master's theses and their doctoral and habilitatus dissertations on international relations from an interdisciplinary point of view. This is the result of doctoral studies and seminars conducted in the UW Institute for

International Relations in the Adam Mickiewicz University Political Science Institute and in PSIM, among others. The opening of a specialization in international relations within the Faculty of Political Science and Journalism at Warsaw University, as well as a new postgraduate program in international relations at WSNS, has also been significant for the development of this field of study.

As a sidenote, in a situation in which the number of dissertations in international relations is increasing, the possibility should be considered that doctorates and habilitatus degrees be granted in this discipline and that it be formally be separated from political science.

Foreign contacts--both participation in seminars and international meetings and stipendiary trips--play an essential role in the development of the cadre. The situation is far from satisfactory in this regard. As indicated in a poll conducted by the Methodical Political Science Center, approximately one-half of the specialists in international relations employed in the higher school system either have not been abroad at all or have been abroad only once or twice for several days as part of delegations. Given this situation, the demand for greater fairness in granting trips abroad is totally justified, although the position of the centers making requests does not always make this possible. However, the sojourns of eminent foreign specialists in our country can be put to better use.

Since the demand to increase the number of foreign research grants and scholarly exchanges has limited potential for implementation, we must ask whether all domestic possibilities for participation in scholarly life and for contact with specialized centers are fully utilized. They are not. In particular, a properly organized and utilized program of domestic apprenticeships could often replace trips abroad and could enable the scholars to take advantage of the literature and documentation base inaccessible outside Warsaw.

The demand for more national seminars and scholarly meetings is justified. At present, while there are quite a few such meetings, they bring together a fairly meager body of specialists, very often the same people. In discussing this problem internally, PISM evaluated its role as falling short of the need in this regard and proposed to increase its participation considerably in organizing scholarly life in Poland.

Various types of associations and scholarly organizations can also play an important role in the creation of a properly functioning academic community. Apart from an active section in international relations in the Polish Political Science Society, the demand for the creation of an International Relations Association deserves to be considered. Such an association exists in many countries and brings together eminent practitioners and journalists as well as scholars.

#### V

Publication possibilities are an essential condition for the development of research, especially basic research, on contemporary international relations.



Given the well-known difficulties under which Polish publishers labor, the field of international issues is relatively well represented in book publishing. Over several years, 30 monographs have merited awards from PISM as the best works on contemporary international relations; several dozen books appear annually in this field, although their publication is much delayed, often making them outdated. Polish Scientific Publishers [PWN], Book and Knowledge [KiW], the Ministry of National Defense [MON] Publishing House, Popular Science [Wiedza Powszechna] and the State Publishing House for Economics [PWE] (in the sphere of economic issues) contribute in particular to the development of the study of international relations. This does not mean, however, that every completed dissertation has had an opportunity to be printed. It is difficult to find a publisher even for habilitatus works, and doctoratheses are rather exceptionally published. The possibility of making use of so-called small-scale printers somewhat saves the situation. Publications run off on duplicating machines appear sporadically at particular schools and fairly regularly at several ministerial institutes (PISM, the Research Institute for Contemporary Problems of Capitalism, IKiC and the Central Methodical Center). Their propagation, however, is subject to criticism.

The situation is good with regard to the possibility of publishing studies and articles in the field of contemporary international relations. The academic community has at its disposal such periodicals as SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE [International Affairs], PRZEGLĄD STOSUNKÓW MIĘDZYNARODOWYCH [International Relations Review], PRZEGLĄD ZACHODNI [Western Review], STUDIA NAUK POLITYCZNYCH [Studies in Political Science] and KAPITALIZM [Capitalism], as well as several bulletins and news announcements. This enables the annual publication of several hundred articles and meets the needs of the community in this area. On the other hand, the extent to which the existing periodicals inspire potential authors and arouse discussion and honest scholarly criticism is open to discussion. Much remains to be done in these matters.

A serious drawback, felt by representatives of the study of international relations, is the lack of foreign-language publications. While there are the following English-language publications--STUDIES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, STUDIES ON THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, POLISH WESTERN AFFAIRS (in the French version: LA POLOGNE ET LES AFFAIRES OCCIDENTALES), POLISH YEAR BOOK OF INTERNATIONAL LAW and POLISH PERSPECTIVES (in several language versions)--except for PISM publications, problems connected with international issues represent merely a fragment of the contents of these periodicals.

If the wealth of Polish study of international relations is to be known beyond the borders of the Polish People's Republic, if we are to participate in international dialogue, if we are to present Polish foreign policy and the position of our country in light of contemporary focal problems, while at the same time shaping its image in the international community, then the undertaking of the publication of dissertations and monographs on international relations in the languages of congresses is indispensable. The example of several other socialist countries, particularly the USSR and Hungary, is

illuminating in this regard. PWN has had some success in the sphere of foreign-language publications.

One of the possibilities that has not been used enough is publication in cooperation with centers abroad, for many publications issued by PISM in cooperation with the institutes of socialist countries and Western institutes. Examples of Polish works in other countries are relatively meager.

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In conclusion it should be stated that, despite limitations and even reductions in state outlays for research and for the cadre, in the case of international relations this does not have to mean the inevitable regression or halting of its development, although the restricted purchases of foreign-language literature undoubtedly can be severe and dangerous in the long term. Certainly, the current economic difficulties of the country stop the extensive development of this new discipline. At present, it is essential that we place greater emphasis on the quality and on the level of our work--in a word, on intensive development, on the broader introduction of the results of our research into the worldwide literature and on the fuller utilization and activation of the research potential that has been created. The opportunity for this is created, above all, by the improved organization and coordination of research, greater specialization of particular centers, better utilization of existing publication possibilities and improved cooperation among particular centers, as well as between political science and practice.

8536

CSO: 2600/317

# VARIOUS ISSUES OF 'SLOWO LUDU' REVIEWED

## Kielce, Radom Area Party Activities

Warsaw SLOWO LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 81 pp 1, 2

[Report from the meeting of the Kielce Voivodship PZPR Executive Board:  
"Directing the Party Under the State of Martial Law, Intermediate Elements  
Within the Party Work Structure; the Sociopolitical Situation in the Voivod-  
ship]

[Text] The strengthening and discipline of party ranks are absolutely necessary under martial law conditions. Yesterday, the voivodship party committee's executive board became familiar with instructions pertaining to directing the party under conditions of danger to the security of the state and with actions, already undertaken, regarding all party members who have declined to follow published directives, among others, those prohibiting participation in strikes and all other forms of protest. There can be and there is no room in the party for those who attempt to or actually participate in them.

The executive board, in turn, adopted a resolution pertaining to party organization structure in Kielce Voivodship. Twelve regions of party activity were named and designated as the intermediate elements in the present structure of party activity. These regions, concentrating the regional organization and party echelons, will be as follows: two in Kielce (for the city and the suburban territorial echelons) and one each in Skarzysko, Ostrowiec, Strarachowice, Busko, Kazimierza Wielka, Pinczow, Jedrzejow, Wloszczowa, Konskie and Miechow.

The executive board devoted considerable attention to an evaluation of the socioeconomic situation in the voivodship subsequent to the proclamation of martial law in the nation. Noted were a distinct revival and activation of a majority of party organizations in industry and the discussions they have inspired as to the necessity of the declaration of martial law and about the aims which the party has staked out for itself. Expressing thanks and recognition to the ever increasing party action groups, with city committees, among others, in Ostrowiec, which can be distinguished by their self-sacrificing agitator work, successful actions in protection of public law and order and in defense of public property. We are very grateful to such a group of party members for squelching a conflict which was ignited for

a short period the day before yesterday at the M. Nowotko Iron and Steel Foundry by a group of provocateurs.

The executive board of the voivodship committee expressed recognition and respect for the organs of public order and the soldiers of the Polish Army for their cautious but decisive and effective actions undertaken on behalf of the maintenance of law and order and their enforcement of the ordinances of the Military Council of National Salvation (WRON). There is no leniency for those who do not care about the proper functioning of their places of work, who wish to engage in adventurism or who live at the expense of someone else.

It was determined at the meeting that the method of party action must be the everyday presence of party activists among the people and working with the people. It is a task of particular importance to have the presence of party members wherever danger appears--where it is particularly difficult. The purpose of undertaking activities by the party is normalization of life, possible rapid termination of the state of martial law and taking part in the fulfillment of the program of the Ninth Party Congress and in socialist renewal.

#### Party Discussions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 81 pp 1, 3

[Discussion between staff writer Mieczyslaw Kaca and party personnel from the Metal Products Factory in Radom [FWM Radom]: Stefan Banach, plant party secretary, and Stefan Maksym, Ryszard Bujak, Andrzej Kazmierski, Ryszard Surma and Zbigniew Korcz; date and place not specified]

[Text] The "Tin Can" which was so popular for the past 6 months--now named the Metal Products Factory in Radom [FWM]--is again an independent enterprise. Self-government, good preparation for social reforms became a contribution for the entire, over 700--man work force. Taking a considerable part in these matters--as should be apparent from the interviews--was the party organization. It performs under specific conditions.

Stefan Banach: For several times already the comrades have elected me their secretary. They expressed their confidence in me in the last election, too. We, here at the "Tin Can" were being pushed down from the forefront. Such an atmosphere was created that, in the opinion of the people, we were ceasing to be credible. Our engagement in the struggle for self-dependence of the plant, which in reality is a branch of Walter [Walter Machine Works in Radom], gave us an opportunity for full participation in those matters which are the very life of the work force.

Stefan Maksym: The Radom Enamel Works has a longer history than the metal plants [FWM]. Entire generations of workers were employed there. Then, suddenly, it was decided to change the profile of production leaving nothing of the heretofore existing technology. Thus party members also have their contribution in maintaining the production of kitchen gas ranges.



Ryszard Bujak: The pressure for rapid self-determination was so strong that even the local Solidarity gave up strike action. It passed without major tensions. And wonder of wonders--even the leader of the Interfactory Workers Commission [MKR], Antoni Sobieraj, who comes from our work force, looked the other way at nonparticipation in strike action.

Stefan Banach: Sobieraj, he's quite a character. Not too long ago, while participating in a Solidarity meeting in FWM, he presented the subject very strongly, demagogically. He stated that because of Solidarity Poles will no longer be short of anything because they have their own... oil. "All that is needed to do is to turn open the valve on petroleum oil and we will be supplied with foodstuffs by... France." He always did look in one direction--West. Others called for surrendering of PZPR party cards. Comrades Surma, Pietkowski and Lach had suffered a lot from "union activists" during the past few months.

Andrzej Kazmierski: I'm a PZPR member without much longevity. When I entered the party ranks I knew that I would have to give more of myself. In these difficult times the majority of the comrades acted the same. Our plant became independent even though we had no orders or component parts for the kitchen ranges. Nevertheless we managed to provide work for people. Instead of the 40,000 ranges projected by Walter we will produce 80,000 ranges this year.

Ryszard Surma: The most important thing for me was to retain my identity, not to fall for the demagoguery, to become resistant to attacks. I presided over a branch trade union, however, all the members were party members.

Stefan Maksym: A matter in which we all participated was to insure work for people and to insure further development for the independent FWM. We have won. The first 10, fully assembled, new gas kitchen ranges, trademarked NINA are ready for shipment. Export to Soviet Union will remain the cornerstone of our existence.

Ryszard Bujak: Participating in the temporary self-government which we have established were the representatives of all sociopolitical organizations and the best professional people. It has fulfilled a very useful role.

Andrzej Kazmierski: The draft of next year's plan is ready. The management has calculated that we should clear 24 million slotys profit. This is based on an estimated production of 120,000 kitchen ranges. If we fulfill this plan we will lower the costs and there will be enough money left over to reconstruct the dismantled enamel works for social purposes and also be enough for pay raises.

Stefan Maksym: The party organization is not interested solely in production matters. In the new situation, we care about the atmosphere of peace in our factory. We are all acting sensibly and the members of Solidarity are also contributing their share.

Zbigniew Korcz: We have formed a propaganda-agitation team. Our activists are talking with people, reporting back their observations and doubts and



making an effort to understand the needs of the workers. Today we have received a number of problems from representatives of various departments. They pertain to work conditions, pay matters and calculations. The answers are being made available, among other means, through our radio programs. We also program commentaries, we kill rumors and make appeals.

Stefan Banach: There are 185 of us [party members] in the plant. It is still a large number. We are preparing for the next round of meetings. There will be plenty of subjects to discuss, to assume a position with respect to the past, to prepare us for work under new conditions which were supposed to be easier, however, due to the existing situation it will be very complicated. Common sense and [party] discipline should accompany us with every step.

#### Party Secretaries Meeting

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 81- Jan 82 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Conference of Local Echelons' Secretaries in Kielce and Radom Voivodships--In Defense of Socialist Poland"]

[Text] Under the leadership of Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Kielce Voivodship PZPR Committee, a voivodship committee conference took place including the first secretaries of city, city-gmina [parish], gmina and plant PZPR committees. The conference was devoted to the mission of party organizations during the difficult period of martial law and to the leadership role which should be played by party members in the reconstruction of the sociopolitical forces front which serves in the defense of socialist Poland. Also taking part in the conference were, among others, plenipotentiary representative of the National Defense Committee (KOK)--the military commissar for Kielce Voivodship, Col [Dipl] Stanislaw Iwanski; the plenipotentiary representative of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the PZPR and member of the party Executive Board of Kielce Voivodship--Kazimierz Matwiejuk, and also the voivodship commandant of the citizens militia (MO) in Kielce--Col Jozef Dolak, who spoke about the state of security and public order in Kielce Province. He noted that actions undertaken by the law enforcement forces during the period of martial law have considerably improved public discipline. Together with soldiers of the Polish Army and members of the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia [ORMO] it became possible to reinforce the patrolling-protective services, undertake many meaningful actions toward effective pursuit of the perpetrators of political crimes, which in turn resulted in a decrease of unlawful endangerment, principally of the criminal type. So far there has been no need in Kielce Voivodship to employ means of direct coercion. All the rumors and tales concerning the inhumane treatment of internees and other detainees, who were arrested in connection with crimes, must, therefore, evoke astonishment. In spite of the comparatively quiet atmosphere, attempts are being made in the voivodship to form new organizational structures, kept secret from the state organs, and to propagate proclamations and slogans which sow unrest among the factory work forces. Law enforcement forces are engaged in a decisive struggle against all such activities.

Next, the secretaries of the PZPR voivodship committee in Kielce informed the confreres about the current sociopolitical and economic situation in all aspects of our life. Marian Surma, secretary of the voivodship committee, reported on the principal direction of the party's organizational work in the coming period. It pertained to support of initiatives and activities of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], forming of a social climate of support for all activities which shield the socialist system and protect the society from a civil war. There can be no room for improvisation in this activity. The courage and responsible and meaningful work of each member of the party will count in this undertaking.

Zdzislaw Kowalski, secretary of the voivodship committee, spoke about the country's economic situation and on this background about the economic results achieved during the past 11 months in Kielce Voivodship. The volume of production, as compared to the same period of last year, has fallen to 60 billion zlotys (a drop of 12.1 percent). Advancement of the yearly plan in housing construction amounted to 57 percent. As compared to last year, purchases of grain, milk and slaughter animals [by the state] are lower. Martial law had a positive influence on work discipline and on lowering of the incidence of unexcused absences. These phenomena, in conjunction with normal execution of daily tasks lead to expectations that Poland will emerge faster from its economic crisis.

Wladyslaw Kmitkowski, secretary of the voivodship committee, principally described propaganda-informative activities introduced since the declaration of martial law. It was mainly a matter of those political themes which prevent national peril and convince the population as to the correctness of the undertakings of WRON. Another equally important task is the maintenance of frequent personal contact by party activists with the factory work forces.

In the discussion lasting many hours, the secretaries shared their observations and experiences from party work during the initial days following the imposition of martial law. They stressed the necessity to undertake inspirational party activities aimed at filling the gap in factories which had resulted as a consequence of the suspension of trade union activities. They indicated a need to form the closest possible cooperation with youth organizations and to finish the process of purging the party of people who are not worthy of carrying the PZPR party card.

Maciej Lubczynski, first secretary of the Kielce PZPR voivodship committee, spoke at the conclusion of the conference. He stated that last year will pass into Poland's history as a significant period in the life of the party and the country. The [existing] situation created a sharp division in the society, resulting in tremendous psychological devastation, particularly among the youth. The party, acting under conditions of grave political struggle and being attacked from within and without, did manage, nevertheless, to conduct a democratic reporting and election campaign which culminated in the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. The members of the party were the first to take up the effort of reconstruction of confidence in the party, not hesitating to own up to past mistakes, and actively conducted the activities

of their echelons. This fact is even more worthy of attention in that the comrades who assumed positions of authority in the party at all echelons often had very little experience in that kind of activity. Praise is due to all those who stood steadfast in their faith to socialist ideology.

Efforts of the party and the government undertaken during the past year to control the crisis and to introduce political reforms and economic improvement were torpedoed with full premeditation. In order to protect the society from civil war, a decision was undertaken to impose martial law. The armed forces of Poland took upon their shoulders the burden of defending the state and the society against the enemies of socialist Poland. It is the party's share of this burden to strengthen ties with the working class, rekindle the faith in the socialist program for reconstruction of the country and to demonstrate real perspectives for overcoming the crisis. The party cannot interrupt the building of its function of promoting understanding between all the political forces of national salvation.

Next, the first secretary informed those assembled regarding the course and topics of the meeting between the plenipotentiary representatives of KOK and the first secretaries of voivodship committees which took place 2 days ago in Warsaw under the leadership of the chairman of the WRON, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski. To conclude, the first secretary of the voivodship committee wished all party activists a happy new year.

A conference of the secretaries, touching on similar subjects, also took place in the voivodship bureau in Radom. Meeting on the same day were city mayors and gmina chiefs of Radom Voivodship. We shall return later to the topics which were the discussion subjects at that meeting.

New Year greetings were presented to the activists from the first secretary of the Radom Voivodship PZPR Committee, Bogdan Prus; the voivodship governor [Wojewoda], Col Eng Alojzy Wojciechowski, and the military commissar, Brig Gen Mieczyslaw Urbanski.

#### Discussion with Bogdan Prus

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 81-1 Jan 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bogdan Prus, first secretary of the Radom Voivodship PZPR committee: "All Forces of the Party for Stabilization of Political and Economic Life" by staff reporters Jerzy Figas and Mieczyslaw Kaca, date and place not given]

SLOWO LUDU: The year 1981 is drawing to an end. It was not the easiest year both in terms of the economy and in sociopolitical activity. Please tell us Comrade Secretary, with what kind of personal feelings are you bidding it goodbye?

Boleslaw Prus: Mixed ones. When this year was starting it appeared that a stabilization of life would ensue, peace would come and, consequently, the



results of 1981 would be better than those achieved in the previous year. Unfortunately, this did not come to pass. During the past year there were no conditions for the conduct of normal business. The activity of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity turned toward adventurism and the [resultant] political confrontation did not always permit concentration on the most pressing social and economic problems.

This was a year of great tensions. Announcements of strikes and strike alerts caused nervousness and a state of excitement. The next cause turned out to be production and supply difficulties in Radom and in the voivodship. We are ending this year with considerably worse results than one would expect given the circumstances which were at our disposal.

**SLOWO LUDU:** To what degree—disregarding, of course, the difficulties which are, of necessity, borne by a state of martial law—did the situation in the voivodship change during the second half of December?

**B.P.:** I believe that the population of Radom and the voivodship have accepted, with a great degree of understanding, the decision to introduce martial law. Not only party members, but also many people from outside the party ranks are working together today to insure peace and order. All the plants are working normally. During the past couple of weeks the discipline in places of work has improved drastically, despite many problems with supply [deliveries] all the current production tasks have been properly fulfilled. The food market situation and slaughter animal purchases have improved. All this is the best proof that among the majority of the work force we have a general understanding for the demands of the present times. I wish to extend my words of thanks and recognition to the citizens of Radom and the voivodship for displaying such a great spirit of citizenship. We may, therefore, have hope that in 1982, we shall see further improvement in all aspects of our sociopolitical and economic life.

**SLOWO LUDU:** Since we are talking about the market and supply matters, it appears that the aid from our comrades from Magdeburg [East Germany] was more than just a symbolic gesture.

**B.P.:** Definitely. We have received goods which were needed very much on the market: food, footwear and children's clothing. I had an opportunity to talk, by telephone, with the first secretary of the SED district committee in Magdeburg, who was very active in arranging the entire shipment of goods to Radom. He told me that they are sending all they can share with us today. I know that our neighbors from beyond the Odra intend to continue this form of cooperation. This is an opportunity to express our thanks once more for this gesture, especially since our German comrades have their own very difficult problems.

**SLOWO LUDU:** The current, complex situation imposes particular obligations on party members.

**B.P.:** The year past has caused tremendous devastation in our routine activities; let us have no illusions that we will come out of it very soon. In



any case, there is only one thing to do: All our energy must be directed toward discipline and honest work. This must apply to us all, particularly to us as party members. We are bound to follow this by the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and plenums of the party Central Committee and in particular by the decisions of the Fourth Plenum which, among others, described unequivocally the relationship of party members toward a strike. The School Committee of the Higher School of Engineering [WSI] has already taken appropriate action against PZPR members who supported actively the so-called protest action of Solidarity, which by its posture had lengthened the conflict.

During the conference of the executive board of the voivodship committee, we have laid down the rules respective to evaluations of cadre members occupying leadership positions. These activities are being coordinated with the voivodship KOK. Several decisions have been made in order to introduce changes in those areas where there are well-grounded reservations. We have adopted a principle that those persons who are incapable of carrying out their duties will be replaced with others, those who will be capable of properly directing those portions of work which are assigned to them. The political workers cadre is subject to similar evaluation.

SLOWO LUDU: Comrade Secretary, how do you look upon those party members who are also members of Solidarity and who are taking an active part in the activities of that trade union?

B.P.: Solidarity has turned out to be an organization which has guided some groups of people upon a wrongful path. There is a need to reevaluate the activities of those PZPR members who, while being simultaneously members of Solidarity, voiced and supported the extremist tendencies of the leadership of that trade union. We will conduct appropriate discussions. I'm of the opinion that the front ranks of the party must define their position relative to those matters...

SLOWO LUDU: In listening to many people, one can detect a fear that the [part] line worked out by the Ninth Congress, the line of socialist renewal and cooperation, may be discontinued.

B.P.: The words of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski directed to the nation during the 13 December proclamation, and underlined again in his Christmas Eve speech, have only one meaning. There is no return to that period which we have agreed to call "times prior to August 1980." A guarantee of this is contained in, among others, the attitude of party members and the activity of basic party organs and echelons based on a truly democratic state of the party.

SLOWO LUDU: What are the most urgent tasks today for the voivodship echelon of the party's basic organization?

B.P.: Unification of all the party's forces toward a most rapid stabilization of political and economic life. Many branch party organizations (OOP) and Primary Party Organizations (POP) are in the process of holding very frequent meetings. One can observe a great deal of interest in all that

touches us at the place of work, at home, in the voivodship and in the nation. There are many opinions as to how we should act in a given situation and how we are to join in arriving at solutions to important problems. For instance, a question is being raised concerning a widening of party problematics pertaining to the socioexistential needs of the work force. The matter refers to the conditions which have developed as a result of the suspension of trade unions--party organizations should initiate appropriate activity and exercise control in this area over the actions of the administration. We support the formation of social commissions within plant committees. Such a task force could also be formed by the voivodship committee.

SLOWO LUDU: We are finding ourselves in the forefront of an economic reform.

B.P.: Yes, this is in accordance with the assumptions and the laws which are currently in force, the reform will be implemented. There's no doubt that the implementation requires additional, complementary decisions. Generally speaking, the work on the reform has to continue, amendments have to be introduced as they are dictated by the conditions of life. Because of this, for a certain period of time, the direction of the economy--especially now, taking into consideration the state of martial law--has to contain certain elements of directive type. The basic postulate of the reform: self-financing, must be taken into consideration from the very onset.

SLOWO LUFU: Any wishes for the New Year?

B.P.: Common participation in the restitution of the fatherland, to make it a land of peace and orderliness, a land of industrious people. We have to prove that we are worthy of Poland. If we do work better then we will also solve our basic problems better, we will be able to satisfy, to an ever-increasing extent, our existential needs.

The executive board of the voivodship committee has issued an appeal to all party members for a full commitment in solving assorted difficulties. What we wrote in our appeal I consider to be justifiably included in an address to all the inhabitants of Radom and the voivodship.

I wish you, above all, good health, the least of troubles and the satisfaction which comes from knowing that you have done your job well.

9511

CSO: 2600/308

## FUNCTIONS, ACTIVITIES OF VOIVODSHIP DEFENSE COMMITTEES DESCRIBED

### Gdansk Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 6, 7 Feb 82 p2

[Article by Wladyslaw Misiolek: "Minutes of One Meeting -- The Voivodship Defense Committee in Operation"]

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committees (WKO) are nothing new, although many of us did not learn of their existence until after the declaration of martial law. The committees were created on the authorization of the Sejm law dated November 1967 on the universal obligation to defend the country.

Under peaceful conditions, the tasks of the WKO consist mainly of directing a broadly-conceived range of defense matters in the voivodship.

In the martial law situation, the committees discharge leadership functions in relation to the local bodies of administration, coordinate the work of factories, state and cooperative institutions, and social organizations.

After the declaration of martial law, the first WKO action consisted mainly of insuring law and order, the satisfaction of people's basic living needs, the functioning of the administration, and the maintenance of production continuity. Taking into consideration the instructions of the supreme officials, the WKOs sharpened their requirements concerning one-man leadership and the responsibility of voivodship governors, city presidents, directors, and heads of plants.

The WKO's consist of voivodship governors and their deputies, secretaries of voivodship party committees, commandants of voivodship citizens' militias (MO), and chiefs of the Voivodship Military Staff. Plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee, who are authorized to oversee the activity of the committees, take part in WKO work.

Gdansk, 6 January

I had the opportunity to attend a local meeting of the Voivodship Defense Committee. Because of my profession, I have often "served at" sessions, meetings, conferences, and general assemblies of various sorts of groups, and I know from experience how difficult it was to sort out the concrete matter, the problems resolved, and the issues handled, from among the millions of words and Baroque ceremonies. Now that I am faced with the task of recounting the proceedings of a WKO session of 2 and a half hours, I find that I confront another difficulty: a list of all the matters taken care of would exceed a single article. I am therefore forced to limit myself to a few examples and a couple of reflections on the method and style of the Gdansk WKO's work.

The session which I attended was 16th such meeting to be held. The first was held the day after the declaration of martial law, that is, 14 December. The next ones were held daily, and it is only recently that the WKO has been coming together every other day.

The information from Col dyplomowany [academy graduate] Zenon Molczyk, chief of the Voivodship Military Staff and simultaneously plenipotentiary of the KOK [National Defense Committee] at the Gdansk WKO, shows that the following issues predominated in the past activity of the committee:

Undertaking of production in all plants of the region, including such giants as the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk,

Working toward the effective and efficient operation of administration,

Introduction of law and order, the insuring of safety and security to residents, and the adherence to the demands stemming from martial law.

The WKO not only makes decisions but also scrupulously monitors their implementation.

But the successive WKO meetings begin with the normal military punctuality, without any ceremony or even a call to order. The voivodship governor who is at the same time the WKO head says: "We are starting."



## First Point: Human Affairs

This means an assessment of the status and functioning of the health and social welfare service in the voivodship. An army surgeon gives a talk. I have the impression of listening to a military report on the condition of the hospitals, pharmacies, social welfare establishments, nurseries, child welfare facilities, and so on.

Nothing is concealed. The information about what is going well is presented in most cursory form, with broader treatment being given to the shortcomings and difficulties, including proposals for their solution. I note certain facts:

In conjunction with the introduction of civil war, it was necessary to tighten up the criteria for admitting patients to hospitals, in order to insure the necessary reserve of beds. House calls by physicians were curtailed. The restrictions did not apply to mother and child care. The current situation is making it possible to gradually remove the restrictions. The hospitals are operating on whole-day staffing patterns, and this also applies to epidemiological and x-ray units.

Provisions were made to insure the necessary supply of blood, an action which military assistance made possible. The production of blood substitutes was expanded. The shortage of certain drugs was watched, especially antibiotics and analgesics. It was therefore necessary to introduce certain restrictions (for example, certain medications are being sold in single packages, and others require prescriptions).

The supply of fuel and heating to public health facilities is good. The voivodship hospital must have an independent source of electric power. Therefore, this request to the KOK plenipotentiary: "Comrade Colonel-- Perhaps the army can provide us with two assemblies [generators?]... And one more thing: owing to the severe winter the ambulances cannot reach all points. For this reason we are asking for two transport vehicles..."

The response: "As to the assemblies, I will have to find out what the possibilities are, but the armored vehicles can be given to you at the end of the meeting." Then the voivodship physician's suggestion: "If the orthopedic workshops could be shifted somewhere else, then the voivodship hospital would be able to accommodate several dozen more beds."

The voivodship governor's response was that the matter could be considered settled.

Suggestion: The health service has been asking for years to have the building in which the Youth Palace is located transferred to it.

Response: You will get it. We will find someplace else for the young people.

Suggestion: There are great difficulties with insuring assistance for some of the elderly, the ill, and the disabled, and these people under our care find themselves in very difficult housing conditions. The severe winter may even endanger their lives. Meanwhile, the recreation centers of the municipal economy and ZREMB are not fully utilized...

Response: Beginning tomorrow, half the places in these facilities will be at your disposal.

And this is the way it went, proposal after proposal, suggestion after suggestion. Even matters which have been at issue for years now are being taken care of right away, on the spot. This is the military style of operation and military efficiency.

#### Second Point: Also Human Affairs

This means service to the population on the part of post offices. The director of the District Post Office presents the issues.

I have the impression that time has gone backwards and again we are listening to a meeting at which people are talking about everything and nothing. Initially the person speaking tells the members of the committee in a "lecture" about the limitations in the working of the post office resulting from martial law, which in this body is simply untactful. The first unable to contain himself is the voivodship governor:

"We would like to know what is being done, so that despite these restrictions there will be fewer complaints about the workings of the post office. We cannot adopt the principle that we are limiting our operations and everything is all right. What is being done to use the period of telephone silence to make a technical review of the equipment? The time has finally come for our post office too to operate the way post offices in every civilized country operate. We cannot do much to make people come out of the shops satisfied, but they ought not to have to complain about the post office."

There are more critical views. The district attorney points out that in the course of monitoring management personnel we must not fire people for their activity prior to 13 December, unless it was clearly inimical or violated the law. The commandant of the voivodship MO is of the same opinion.

The KOK plenipotentiary: "We cannot accept the information given us. Because the director has been unable to prepare straightforward material, I am calling for the creation of a three-person committee to familiarize us with the operation of the post office at next week's meeting of our committee.

With this then, the joking around came to an end.

### Third Point: Human Affairs Once More

This means a review of the proposals to resume the activity of the cultural facilities. The head of the propaganda staff makes his report.

The stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship provides encouragement for the gradual restoration of the operation of the theaters, motion picture houses, museums, houses of culture, and so on, but it is necessary to follow certain requirements of martial law, such as obtaining the approval of the censors to put on a presentation (most of the theaters have met this requirement). We cannot neglect the fact that in the cultural community people's attitudes vary. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account the possibility that somebody will want to exploit a cultural presentation to sow unrest.

After a review of all the pros and cons it was decided first of all that the theaters for children would be reopened, and then the local movie houses, followed by the urban movie houses, museums, exhibitions, and so on.

### Fourth Point: Winter Alarm

This means measures taken to counteract the effects of the sudden onslaught of winter. The deputy governor of the voivodship speaks.

This point was not planned. The situation dictated it. Beginning 13 December the tricity has been living through a sudden onslaught of winter: a severe cold snap, copious precipitation of snow, and biting wind. New falls occur right after the snow plows pass through the streets. There are numerous breakdowns of the trains and streetcars. As the result of the partial interruption of transportation, a number of people never made it to work. There are serious problems with supply.

The first attempts to handle the cold snap were undertaken in the early morning, but because they proved inadequate it was necessary to mobilize all means and forces, directing them to the most important sectors of the front (for example, in order to provide for the functioning of urban transportation, it was necessary to give up the removal of snow from the expressway around the tricity).

The voivodship governor makes the decision to give the winter alarm and authorizes his deputy to take the necessary action required by the situation.

The subject will be continued at the next meeting of the committee.

### Fifth Point: Various Matters

This includes personnel issues, first of all.

The director of the children's facility is removed from his position for failure to concern himself adequately with those under his care. If the accusation that the children's packages coming from foreign assistance have been stolen from is confirmed, then the case will be referred to the courts.

Two directors were appointed. For the time being they will handle the duties of the director. If they work out, they will be appointed to the position permanently.

So much for the reporter's notes from the meeting of the Gdansk Voivodship Defense Committee. They do not tell everything about this meeting, but this is not just because I managed to note down barely some of the issues discussed. It also has to do with the method and style of the operation of the WKO. Therefore I have also to write something else for our readership:

PS to the Minutes

1. The committee operates in basically a military style. One has the impression that finally the time of empty words has passed and that it is deeds which count. The principle of operation is simple enough: an analysis of the needs and possibilities, immediate decision, implementation.
2. There is not a shred of bureaucratic nonsense. It is as though all sorts of regulations impeding action have disappeared. Of course, there are regulations and they are in effect. It is just that they are finally being treated like something which is to facilitate action, not hamper it.
3. All the issues taken up were human affairs. And they were resolved in view of the needs of the residents of the voivodship.
4. The notion of "holding office" has come to an end. Work in positions of leadership is social service. Anybody who does not understand this must go. The main criterion for personnel decisions consists of expert skill and the ability to operate efficiently.
5. If the method and style of operation from the period of martial law become a fixed habit, then we can be more peaceful about the future and less worried.



Comments of Warsaw Commissioner

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Feb 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Gen Dywizji Dr Habilitowany Wladyslaw Mroz, National Defense Committee [KOK] plenipotentiary, and military commissar of the capital city and voivodship of Warsaw, by PAP reporter Witold Smolarek: "Not By an Argument of Force, But by Force of Argument")]

[Text] Reflections on the subject of the activity of the Voivodship National Defense Committee, which has been in operation for more than 7 weeks, and on the issues related to an important leadership function, that of supervision (in the military inspectorate), are shared in a Polish Press Agency interview with Wladyslaw Mroz.

[Question] One of the important conditions for getting out of the crisis is the efficient operation of the bodies of administration and authority. Under martial law conditions, the voivodship defense committees [WKO] play the role of coordinator of the efforts undertaken in this realm. What does the balancesheet of the action taken up until now look like?

[Answer] We are going into the 8th week of difficult work conceived as a form of support for the bodies of state and economic leadership. Unfortunately, reality clearly shows that there is a very great deal to do to "put our house in order," and that too often, instead of being merely a source of additional energy, the military commissars and military groups subordinate to them are in certain instances forced to step over into the prerogatives of the administrative bodies, in order to liberate social initiative and civic action to overcome the crisis. Up until now we have conducted more than 15 comprehensive reviews and two problematic (interview-photoinformational) reviews. They have covered areas of life which are sensitive for any complex, especially a great complex in the capital. This means milk distribution, bakeries, urban transport companies and the urban sanitation enterprise, CPN construction, Polish State Railways (Warsaw railway junction), the automobile factory and Ursus mechanical plants, Warsaw-Wola section, thermal-electric power system, and Otwock and Piaseczno. We directed our successive "hard blows" at monitoring the level of support for meat and food stores. We do intend to perform our own sort of anatomical investigation of the operation of all spheres of life. The conclusion? Criminal lack of sense of responsibility on the part of the leadership of the plants and enterprises, waste of public property, lack of compunction with regard to self and others, weak leadership and administration, poor working conditions, glaring neglect in the realm of occupational health and safety and fire prevention, poor level of sanitary and hygienic conditions of facilities, and inadequate concern for the social existential conditions of workers, and, above all, complete lack of monitoring and control of the very important function of management. There are many weak points in management. This is shown by both theory and practice. This is directly related to the neglect of monitoring and accountability.

[Question] What is going on, for example, when the conclusions overall consist of the picture you gave above?

[Answer] What ought to be going on. We analyze the causes, look for the remedies, give concrete conclusions and request immediate consequences, where called for, in relation to those people guilty of neglect. This is not the first time that it has worked out that a great deal can be nearly remedied "in the course of the march," as we used to say in the army. It also turned out that only in-depth monitoring can upgrade the situation which still rather frequently exists around us, one which at one time Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski defined in this way: "Some work while others watch, others watch while people work."

[Question] Here we are getting into the sphere of control methodology, and in the army this was called inspection. In the hope of generalization, please expand on this subject.

[Answer] Inspection, control, monitoring, accountability. These are an extremely important oversight function. Our military practice has proved that only in-depth control can produce benefit. On the other hand, taking the issue in exact terms, this means the straightforward execution of the suggestions resulting from this control. What is more, shallow, superficial control is a greater evil than no control at all. Here we should remember to respect the definition of good work, which closes with this statement: "Each does his own work, each works well, each reports when he is finished, and each is controlled and held to account."

[Question] What should be taken into account at the stage of planning control? How should the control group be selected?

[Answer] The control plan (annual, quarterly) is kept absolutely secret and encompasses the weakest, most neglected parts of the controlled group. The focus should be on the basic functional echelons (for example, the bakeries, transport security, milk distribution, and so on); basic administrative bodies (for example, city districts, towns, parishes (gminy)); basic production groups (industrial plants, state farms, cooperatives, and so on). The controlling body should be made up of good specialists, experts with high-level ethics and morals, people of objectivity, a sense of principle, thoroughness, and ... bonhomie! The way the control operation is prepared is vital. Each person should simply understand the significance of it, have the maximum information about the installation to be examined, know the purpose of the investigation and its problem sphere and so on. Instructions should be conducted with the utmost care prior to the investigation. This is often made light of and not appreciated. If this happens, it is a grave error.

[Question] And how is the control done?

[Answer] In the army we break it down into three stages, by convention, of course. First we do the initial control, which represents sort of a "pass" to the basic control. The final stage is a summation of the control which has been completed. Among other things, the first stage checks on order, occupational health and safety, fire protection, sanitation and hygiene... and checks to see that the recommendation of previous visits has been acted upon. If the general result is unsatisfactory, then the basic control is not conducted. Let us assume that the result was favorable.

We pass on to the basic control, which should begin with listening to the information (report) from the director, the superior, on the subject of the situation in the unit being controlled. Later the individual sub-commissions of the control body check, examine, and analyze, for example, the moral-political condition, discipline and attitudes among the workers, the basic activity of the enterprise, and the way this activity is safeguarded and insured in terms of materials and organization and in the realm of the safeguarding of order, regularity, and social-existential conditions. After all the necessary action has been completed, the workers' complaints have been listened to, and photographs have been made to show glaring examples of neglect and the reports are drawn up, then there is a summing up along with a list of recommendations and a date for compliance.

It is extremely important to use the control results and to check to see that all the control recommendations are carried out. This is handled by the individual units of the administration and by military people, and, if need be, by the WKO.

I have presented the issues very briefly concerning "control methodology." We must add that they are no secret to any of those upon whose sense of responsibility and honesty depends the functioning of the enterprises, offices, and bodies serving the state and the economy, all of us.

A final reflection: in all our action, the purpose of which is to introduce peace, order, discipline, concern for state property, production continuity, and so on, we should always remember that the effect of the control should be achieved not with the argument of force but with the force of argument.

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## MARTIAL LAW REGULATIONS FOR HIGHER SCHOOLS PUBLISHED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Jan 82 p 6

[Article: "How Higher Schools Are Working"]

[Text] Some higher schools have already fully resumed teaching activities. In others, preparations for undertaking interrupted studies are continuing.

Before making the decision to set in motion academic studies, the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Technology [MNSzWIT] prepared two documents. They are: Guidelines concerning the operation of higher schools during the period of compulsory martial law and Provisional Regulations for daytime studies in higher schools subject to the minister of NSzWIT. These documents, consulted upon in deliberations with rectors, stated briefly regulate the operational procedure of schools during the period of martial law and the conditions which must be fulfilled for higher schools to resume their statutory activity in full. All members of the academic community, therefore, should familiarize themselves with the contents of these documents. We wish to facilitate this. Hence, we are printing a column devoted entirely to one subject--the functioning of schools during the period of martial law.

## Law Continues to be Binding

As everyone knows, the beginning of the current academic year was extremely stormy. What added to this was the different interpretations of the regulations of the "old" law from 5 November 1958 on higher schooling made in the spirit of the contents of statements included in the draft of the "new" law. The "Guidelines" mentioned state unequivocally: "Higher schools operate on the basis of the law from 1958 and regulations issuing from the martial law decree."

In conjunction with this, the rector runs the school--singlehandedly. He acts through the medium of the other one-man organs of the school. This means that the rector assumes full responsibility for the entire makeup of the activities of his institution. Similarly, the other persons assume responsibility for the activities of the organizational units they supervise.

The administrative organs (senate, faculty council) perform the functions of advising and offering opinions to rectors and deans. Their composition was defined by the regulations of the 1958 law. However, the representatives of



the organizations which have had their activities suspended do not participate in the meetings of these organs.

The rector is responsible for familiarizing all employees and students with the regulations and decisions of the authorities issued in conjunction with martial law and he has the obligation to execute these regulations within the scope of his authority. He likewise guarantees the protection of the school grounds in accordance with the current requirements. He also is to step up preventive measures the purpose of which is to avert manifestations of the violation of social discipline and legal norms by the entire academic community. An especially important duty of the rector is to counteract attempts to act in ways not permitted by martial law regulations and to inform the authorities and the minister of NSzWIT about all attempts at such action.

During the period that martial law remains in effect, all employees are bound by intensified work discipline. Moreover, in conjunction with the suspension of the statutory activity of trade unions, the provisions of the Charter of the Rights and Duties of the Teacher and the labor code are not binding where they touch upon coordinating decisions of the cadre with trade unions, e.g.: the hiring, firing, promotion, transfer, remuneration, distinguishing, and punishment of employees.

The rector, taking into account the special requirements issuing from the introduction of martial law and the need to make up for lost time in teaching activities, may order employees to execute tasks exceeding their former duties.

Intensified work discipline means an increase in the significance of periodic evaluations of teaching-upbringing and the scholarly-research activities of university teachers. The guidelines clearly state the duty of conducting these evaluations according to the recommendations of a letter from the minister of NSzWIT dated 30 November 1979. They also stipulate that the self-evaluation of the university teacher, checked by his direct superiors and then verified by the Academic Council and the Scholarly Council, should foster the determination of the problems and obstacles encountered in the teacher's work, resulting in the possibility and obligation of proposals made for streamlining and changes.

Within the area of scholarly-research work, it is recommended that work be verified from the viewpoint of its particular applicability to the development of the economy, the national culture and the development of the academic cadre. The rector approves research plans within the framework of the financial possibilities of the school.

#### Study and the Students

The rector confirms changes in the organization of the course of studies made for the purpose of compensating for lost time. These changes are to be adapted to the specific situation of particular schools and directions of study. At the same time, the general principle established in the Guidelines is binding, namely: compensating for lost time is to take place

during the course of two or, at most, three successive semesters without extending the normal time of studies. Only in exceptional cases is it possible, with the approval of the minister of NSZWIT, to extend studies for the last year by one semester. However, classes during the summer semester of the 1981/82 academic year may be extended. Recruitment for the first year of studies will be conducted in September, without additional fall recruitment.

In the area of foreign language study, students are obliged to participate in two courses. It is compulsory that one of these courses be in a language, the study of which the student is continuing.

The implementation of the teaching-upbringing process in higher schools during the period of martial law must be characterized by intensified discipline in studies, intensified teaching and the strict observance of regulations. These requirements are stated precisely in the Provisional Regulations for daytime study (introduced by an order of the minister dated 8 January 1982). The Provisional Regulations are binding for all schools subject to the minister of NSZWIT. These regulations establish the obligation "of the student to be present at all classes stipulated by the plan of studies." As formerly, the dean establishes the forms of checking a student's presence and the procedure for validating absences. On the other hand, the statement previously in effect that the person conducting a class in a given subject may excuse a student from some teaching activities in this subject no longer applies. The dean has also lost the power to grant a student permission to undertake steady remunerative work.

The disciplinary responsibility of the student is specified in paragraph 10 of the Provisional Regulations, which reads:

1. A student assumes disciplinary responsibility for disciplinary offenses according to the principles outlined in separate regulations. This likewise refers to cases of offenses committed as stipulated in article 50 of the Decree on martial law (DZIENNIK USTAW Legal Gazette, no 29, 1981, item 154).
2. In the event that it is ascertained that provisions of article 46-48 (DZIENNIK USTAW, no 29, 1981, item 154) have been violated, the rector on his own initiative removes the student from the list of students without initiating a disciplinary proceeding.

With regard to the principles of the organization of studies, the Provisional Regulations do not specify detailed principles and possible organizational variants of the academic year. These follow the plans and framework of teaching programs previously in effect. The rector confirms detailed teaching programs. These are announced to students together with the list of literature needed during the first 2 weeks after the beginning of classes. The rector also determines the detailed organization of the academic year on the basis of compulsory plans of study, he divides the year into semesters and establishes the dates for the examination session.

The principles of studies taking place according to individual plans and programs have remained virtually unchanged. The sole exception to this is

the previous statement that studies carried out in this way may lead to the shortening of the period of study. The Provisional Regulations also do not preserve the provisions enabling a student to participate in selected classes in the same or another higher school. With regard to apprenticeships, the general provision is binding that the dean determines their program following from the plans of study and specifies the manner of and conditions for granting credit.

#### Examinations and Granting Credit

Relatively major changes have been made in the principles of awarding credit for the year of studies. Due to their practical significance for students, we are quoting the provisions of chapter 4 of the Regulations in full, except for paragraph 26, which maintains the scale of evaluation previously applied unchanged.

Section 20. The rector determines the organization and procedure for awarding credit for the year (semester).

Section 21. The granting of credit for a subject which includes an examination is done on the basis of:

- 1) awarding credit for classes in the given subject based on an evaluation of the active part the student takes in these classes and by obtaining positive evaluations of classwork (tests, running checks, projects and the like).

- 2) an examination, which is a check of the level to which the student has mastered the material specified in the program for this subject.

2. The granting of credit for a subject which does not include an examination is done on the basis of paragraph 1 item 1.

3. The person conducting a given subject may excuse a student from participating in some classes if that student is doing research within the framework of research teams implementing topics which are part of the plan of the institution or which emanate from agreements with units of the socialized economy. He may likewise grant credit for exercises, seminars and examinations in the subject with which the student's research work is thematically linked, contingent upon the student's fulfillment of the requirements emanating from the study program.

Section 22 1. The person conducting classes grants credit for the classes.

2. In cases warranted by the requirements of the teaching process, the dean may establish the obligation of granting credit for all or some classes in a given subject before the examination is passed.

Section 23 1. Those giving lectures in a given subject conduct the examination.

2. In exceptional cases, in a given year the dean may authorize those lecturing in related subjects to conduct examinations.
3. On the basis of the plan of studies and the organization of the [academic] year specified by the rector, the dean determines the examinations which the students are obliged to take during a given session.
4. A student may take the examinations discussed in paragraph 3 before the exam session, if the examiner agrees to this.

Section 24 In the event that a student does not pass all of the examinations established in the course of section 23 paragraph 3, the dean may make a decision not to admit the student to a repeat session and not to grant credit for the year (or semester) of studies.

Section 25 1. An examination for each subject stipulated in the plan of studies takes place separately and is subject to separate evaluation.

2. In the event that a student obtains an unsatisfactory evaluation on an examination, the student is entitled to the right to one repeat session.

Section 27 1. Students attaining the best results in study in a given year of study, showing the greatest improvement by comparison with the previous period and demonstrating the proper moral and civic attitude who fulfill the obligations emanating from the regulations of the law in an exemplary manner may receive awards and distinctions.

2. The criteria and procedure of granting awards and distinctions are determined by the rector, with the exception of monetary awards. The principles for granting monetary awards are specified in separate regulations.

Section 28 1. Upon the suggestion of a student, submitted within 2 days from the examination date, the dean orders an examination by committee, in exceptional and specially warranted cases. This should take place within 7 days from the date the proposal is submitted.

2. On his own initiative, the dean may order an examination by committee, in the event that a student does not pass a repeat examination.

3. An examination by committee takes place before a committee composed of the dean or the assistant dean as committee chairman, the examiner who conducted the previous examination, a second specialist in the subject area covered by the examination or in a related subject and the tutor for the year.

Section 29 With regard to a student who has not been granted credit for a year of studies, the dean hands down a decision to:

- 1) permit the year of studies to be repeated, with the exception of students in their first year of studies,
- 2) remove the student from the list of students,



3) conditionally permit the student to undertake studies in the following year (in special cases specified by the rector).

2. The dean may remove a student from the list of students in the course of the academic year if he does not demonstrate sufficient progress in his studies, as ascertained by a running check. The dean makes such a decision after having solicited the opinion of the tutor for the year.

3. A student may obtain permission to repeat a year not more than once during the period of studies.

Section 30 A student who is repeating a year of studies is not obliged to obtain credit for subjects in which he has received at least a good evaluation.

Section 31 1. The reacceptance for studies of a person who has interrupted studies or who has been removed from the list of students during the first year of studies follows the general principles for recruitment for higher studies.

2. The principles of reacceptance for the second year or for more advanced years of studies are specified in separate regulations.

#### Student Organizations

1. In conjunction with a decision of the ministry of NSZWIT dated 5 January 1982, concerning the dissolution of the Independent Association of Students [NZS], the rector decides how to designate the property of this organization. The rector may assign persons employed by the NZS or suspended student organizations to other work on the campus of the institution. If this is not possible, these persons take on work as directed by the local organ of the State administration.

2. The property of student organizations suspended during the period of obligatory martial law, i.e.: the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], the Student Sport Union [AZS] and the Polish Student Union [PZA], as well as of school organizations is taken into receivership by the rector of the higher school; in committee on the basis of protocol. The rector determines the makeup of the inventory committee and the receivership which safeguards the property of the organization. The rector may also hand down a decision concerning the utilization of the property of suspended organizations by organizational units of the school. The receivership performs actions indispensable for keeping the property from deteriorating.

3. In accordance with the Guidelines, the rector may grant his approval to the undertaking of activities of cultural sections and scientific circles within the framework of the altered program and the principles of organization of the educational process; the rector appoints the persons administratively responsible for the activity of these sections.

4. In conjunction with the suspension of the activities of AZS:

--Study Programs of Physical Education and Sports assume supervision of and take charge of AZS teams participating in the State system of matches, insuring them instruction-training conditions, food and shelter as well as participation in the sporting events gradually being revived by the GKKFIS Central Committee of Physical Culture and Sport. Teams participating in any type of match and sporting event use the school name, without the words "AZS."

--Study Programs of Physical Education and Sports likewise take on the activity formerly conducted by AZS School Clubs, according to the principles discussed above, by agreement with the rector's plenipotentiary. This is with regard to conducting events and mass intramural and intermural matches.

--In the event of the participation of competitors from higher school teams in community teams, their participation in sporting events and matches must be approved by the governor's (mayor's) plenipotentiary, who formerly was in charge of the community management of AZS.

5. The ALMATUR Central Office of Travel and Tourism BPiT, together with its subordinate units and property have been taken over by the plenipotentiary of the minister of NSzWIT, while the property and activity of ALMATUR BPiT school agencies is assumed by the plenipotentiary and board appointed by the rector. The activity of voivodship ALMATUR BPiT's, together with the centers and property belonging to them have been taken over by the plenipotentiaries of voivodes (presidents). Therefore, the activity of the rector's plenipotentiary and the board for ALMATUR BPiT affairs which extends beyond the voivodship should be approved by the plenipotentiaries for the organs of the local administration.

6. The Provisional Regulations, by virtue of their scope, do not encompass changes in the program and organizational principles of the educational process in higher schools and student houses associated with the suspension of the activity of organizations and self-governing student bodies. These changes are initiated by the rector, who appoints the appropriate plenipotentiaries and administrators for matters such as culture, sports and student houses and determines the persons responsible for taking charge of the activity of scientific circles, sporting and cultural clubs and the like.

The rector likewise initiates provisional regulations for the functioning of student houses, specifying such matters as the organization of entry to outsiders and the manner of establishing control over entry.

#### Material Assistance

The material assistance from which students benefited up to December 1981 inclusively is resumed from the date on which classes resume.

The regulations previously in effect in the granting of new stipends, awards and distinctions to students excelling academically, as well as the principles of student utilization of student houses and cafeterias are binding.

There is the change that the functions of making recommendations and rendering opinions foreseen for student organizations of self-governing student bodies are assumed by the plenipotentiaries of the rector and deans for affairs of material assistance. These are appointed from among university teachers or administrative employees permanently employed in the higher school. The rector may order the appointment of a two- or three-person team to assist the plenipotentiary.

During the current school year, the periods of utilization of scholarship assistance previously in effect are binding, namely:

--normal stipends funded for a 10-month period, allowing for exceptions defined by regulations,

--stipends funded for 12 months.

Students do not incur a charge for a period during which they did not make use of a student house. In conjunction with this, one-half of the December charge already incurred (60 zlotys), should be credited to their accounts due for residence in the student house following the beginning of classes.

Two basic types of leaves are retained, i.e., the short-term leave and the year's leave. A reason justifying the granting of a leave is a long-term illness or serious personal circumstances. During the entire period of studies, the year's leave may be obtained only once, unless the reason for the leave is a long-term or recurring illness. During both types of leaves, the student retains his valid school identification and the right to take advantage of free medical care. In exceptional cases, he may receive material benefits during this time. The dean, at the recommendation of the tutor for the year for the student group, makes the decision on this matter.

#### Social Activity

In accordance with Decision No 2 of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, dated 21 December 1981, social activity should be concentrated on the streamlining of the organization of the collective feeding of employees, the organization of the sale of consumer articles in schools and guaranteeing pensioners and annuitants the possibility of making use of various services of a social nature.

Rectors are also obliged to take over and perfect the various forms of social activity conducted by trade unions, also to pay out statutory benefits and ensure the effective functioning of employee benefit loan funds.

#### Cadre Worktime

University teachers employed fulltime on the basis of appointment or on the basis of a labor agreement are bound during the academic year to execute teaching activities emanating from the teaching program of study within the following scope, defined in terms of so-called computed hours:

- professors and docents--210 hours,
- adjuncts, senior assistants and assistants--270 hours,
- senior lecturers--300 hours,
- lecturers--360 hours,
- foreign language teachers, teachers of defense subjects, physical education and other subjects--540 hours,
- teachers of practical skills--840 hours.

One computed hour equals 45 minutes of actual lectures, lessons, discussion, drill, proseminars and seminars encompassed by plans of daily studies, evening studies and correspondence studies, as well as postgraduate and doctoral studies.

### Trips Abroad

Under conditions of martial law, the number of trips abroad has been reduced. Nevertheless, it is indispensable that the most valuable forms of cooperation be preserved and that the continuity of contacts with the leading scientific centers, participation in joint research endeavors and in major international shows be ensured. For these reasons we should:

- 1) implement trips issuing from intergovernmental agreements and understandings, as well as from agreements concerning the direct cooperation of schools and scientific institutions,
- 2) give preference to trips which have the purpose of implementing joint research efforts; scientific apprenticeships (particularly long-term ones), especially when they concern priority subjects for the economy, science and culture; research or teaching work in scientific institutions abroad based on intergovernmental agreements, contracts concluded by foreign trade enterprises and agreements for direct cooperation,
- 3) facilitate the participation of Polish scholars in leading international scientific gatherings,
- 4) continue student trips made for the purpose of doing all of one's work in higher studies in socialist countries, on the basis of interstate agreements, and the trips of students sent through MNSZWIT for so-called partial studies (one to two semesters).

What is the obligatory procedure for trips abroad?

#### I. To Socialist Countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia)

a. The rectors of higher schools and the directors of other academic institutions who had the authority before 13 December 1981 to make recommendations that service passports be issued retain that right. The directors of other institutions act according to the principles previously in effect in this area.



b. All passports issued before 13 December 1981 which carry a provision of validity only for socialist countries (one for several socialist countries) preserve their validity and do not require renewal before trips made to these countries.

c. Passports issued before 13 December 1981, carrying a provision of validity "for all countries of Europe" or "all countries of the world" must be renewed before the making of trips to socialist countries. The appropriate territorial passport organ (Voivodship Headquarters of the Citizens' Militia [MO]) renews the passport at the recommendation: of the rectors of higher schools, the directors of academic institutions authorized to make recommendations that service passports be issued or the superior organ having this authorization (for institutions not authorized to issue service passports).

## II. To Other Countries

a. The ministers or directors of central offices alone are authorized to make recommendations that service passports be issued.

b. The rectors of higher schools and the directors of academic institutions submit recommendations to the appropriate ministers concerning the issuance of service passports together with supporting material, which includes the nature of the sojourn abroad and the anticipated academic results, the formal basis of the trip, sources of financing and personal data.

c. When a decision has been made, the recommendations discussed above are returned to those making the recommendations.

d. Approved passport recommendations are then implemented at the appropriate territorial MO voivodship headquarters.

III. Applications for sojourn visas in institutes of foreign States are handled exclusively by the appropriate ministries or central offices.

8536

CSO: 2600/341

POLAND

BRIEFS

LETTER TO KREISKY--Vienna (SK)--For over 5 years a socialist party has been operating semilegally in Poland. Its leadership was arrested after the proclamation of martial law because it had refused to collaborate with the police against KOR [Workers' Self-Defense Committee] and other leftist groups. This emerges from a letter which Chancellor Kreisky received from a Polish prison. Conditions in the prisons are very tough: Up to eight prisoners are kept in cells of less than 20 square meters. The temperature in the cells hardly ever exceeds 14 degrees C. The food is of poor quality and inadequate quantity and is mostly served cold. Open-air exercise, although stipulated for 1 hour daily, is mostly reduced to 45 minutes and often altogether canceled. Prisoners who go on hunger strikes are not given any medical care. [Text] [AU081234 Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 6-7 Mar 82 p 1]

CSO: 3103/332

## IASI PAPER'S REVIEW OF CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE CRITICIZED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by C. Stanescu]

[Text] A retrospective view of the literature of the 70's, which have barely ended, even if it is a provisional one, is welcome and timely anytime. CONVORBIRI LITERARE, the Iasi journal, has published such a discussion in the last several issues. The opinions of the participants in the "retrospective view" are inciting, some are judicious. Primarily what is remarkable is the signalling of the appearance of a large number of valuable books, novels, poetry, volumes of literary criticism and history, all of them indicating an emphasis on the thematic and stylistic diversity of literature. Second, we should note the judicious review of the contribution of some new writers to the development of today's literary creation. Many penetrating observations concern literary criticism and history of the political-ideological climate of this period, in which the utilization of the literary heritage continues at a high level and the reestablishment of some important writers of the past in critical editions. Some opinions formulated by the participants in this "retrospective view" raise questions, however. As Alex. Stefanescu writes, "Starting in 1971, literary life loses much of its celebrated ebullience which characterized it in the preceding decade. The enthusiasm of renaissance gradually is replaced by an atmosphere of concentrated work." As if this "enthusiasm" excludes concentrated work. No opposition or exclusion between these concepts exists; rather, logically, a relationship of consequence exists. What may be understood is the critic's desire to establish some arbitrary oppositions lacking intelligible criterion. As the author points out, writers now are asserting themselves as "solitary navigators" or "through declared integration in the retinue of certain personalities." How many should be in the retinue and what tasks they should fulfill alongside the "suzerain personality" which facilitates their assertion are quiet matters for this author of the unusual view of the assertion of the young writer. Dividing writers into two clearly defined camps defined by an imaginary barrier, Alex. Stefanescu then comes with a Manicheist view of the literary landscape, republishing in a surprisingly simplistic manner the formula of the "idealist-realist" novel of the 50's, in which the characters split into the two radically differing categories and both just as illusory: the negativists and positivists, the "angels" and "devils." The critic "reads" the current literary landscape like a novel of the past worked out in the school of Manicheist realism. A curious metamorphosis! Characterizing the decade which has ended, he believes he has discovered the republishing of an old dispute between the "traditionalists" and "modernists," "between supporters of the message and those of expressiveness," accusing the former of all the "bad things," among which the worst is that it gives literature a "mission" and a "message." We are totally confused, since he does not

say what "message" these "traditionalists" support and what "mission" they are giving to literature. What is certain is that they are seen as the bad spirits of literature, a category "defined by the transformation of literature into a mission, through the announced seriousness and through the complete and energetic solidarization of the militants." What can one say faced with the critic's holy scorn for the "outrage" of the message and mission on the purity of the "noble gratuitousness," as literature appears to be for him? Judging according to the logic of this "celebrated" angle, the fact that a "traditionalist" prose writer like Sadoveanu, let us say, is the creator of an artistic style, of a unique expressiveness in Romanian literature would be incompatible with the existence of the mission and message of this literature! And inversely: when "the message" makes its appearance, style and expressiveness automatically disappear! These oppositions are as peremptory as they are false and there is no need to say again that the expressiveness of a sumptuous literary style in a novel like "Princepele" does not oppose in the least the book's philosophical message. Or does Al. S. believe that a novel like "Cartea Milionarului" is a "pure" and gratuitous linguistic adventure!? Imagining "conflicts" between the supporters of the message and of expressiveness, Alex. Stefanescu introduces false opposition, outside of literature, in discussing current literary phenomenon.

It is hard to say to whom this view is of use. Perhaps Al. Dobrescu, a participant in the same discussion, who takes over "deepening" the ideas. As Al. D. writes, "The 70's start with an emphatic question regarding the syntheses dedicated to the present. Has something changed in the meantime? Have the obstacles become easier to overcome? Will they be overcome or will the techniques for climbing over them have progressed? I would like to formulate an affirmative answer. However, the reality plucks me by the sleeve, reminding me that since 1970 up until now not even a synthesis of the contemporary literary phenomenon has appeared." The difficulties which explain this situation, as we see from a long list, are: "unprocessed knowledge of the ideological directions," "dogmatism," "simplifying view," "conformism," "mistaken tendency to equate literary value with any production in which the demands of the moment take on an explicit formulation," "undermining of aesthetic demands" and many others. Yet it should be observed in passing: why did not all this hinder Al. Piru, for example, from writing and publishing, even at the end of last year, a much discussed history of Romanian literature from its beginnings up to the present? Is it because of "dogmatism" that the "nonconformist" books of the critic Gh. Gri-gurcu appeared about contemporary poets and critics? Did "undermining of aesthetic demands" help Eugen Simion to publish "Romanian Writers Today" at the same time? Or I. D. Balan, with "Resurrection of a Poet: Aron Cotrus" or Mircea Martin, with "G. Calinescu and the Complexes of Romanian Literature" and many others? Clearly, there is a lack of great and complete syntheses. However, to make this absence due to the context full of imaginary obstacles is, at most, childish. On the contrary, the context was the solicitation: it is precisely these syntheses that were requested in history, science, art and literature. Yet they have not appeared to the necessary extent. Al. D. explains for us: "As an example, let us take a restricted period very near to us, that is, the 70's, and let us see what kind and how serious are the obstacles which must be overcome for an understanding of it. The first year, 1971, is marked by one decisive event for the later evolution of literature. The theses of July, published then, fix a new framework for the cultural movement (and, of course, the literary movement), a much stricter one, before which clear and unequivocal tasks are posed. The attention given artistic creation increases, the ideological guidance intensifies and it does not refer just to general principles,



to the role of art in society, to its action of knowledge and its highly educational function but also to the selection of subjects and the angle from which they are viewed." Legitimate and judicious evaluations, stressing the significance and importance of these ideas which, as we know, had positive implications for literary-artistic creation. However, Al. D. has another opinion: "This broad program was carried out in a literary production of disconcerting diversity and, understood, value." And a long string follows of confusions denounced by Al. D. with great energy. What should we understand? Clearly, all this confusion, in the end equal to an involution, appears to the combative publicist, as he himself says, as results of that "decisive event for the later evolution of literature." A grave error, which the rich picture of literature of this period itself divulges and is impossible to be ignored by an objective critical spirit. Of course, from this picture we do not exclude the rejects, mediocre books lacking substance and value. They are nearly inevitable but they do not strike a characteristic note. Clearly, the author omits a basic thing: the theses of July were not merely "published" then but, rather, discussed throughout the party, with the broad participation of people in culture and art; they were not simply an "ideological directive" but rather an innovative orientation of vast theoretical proportions. Second, they were not and could not be a "program for literary production," as Al. D. naively believes, leading one to understand, simplistically, that the "planning" of books, subjects and even of angles from which they should be viewed and, eventually, "approached" in the volumes of writers was recommended. Discussing the ideological orientation of literature in this way, Al. D. only republishes a truly dogmatic view in the problem of the party's guidance of art and literature, a view criticized and debated following the 9th party congress. It is surprising to meet in a young critic the recrudescence of this narrow and restricting view at a time when the orientation of literature allows the writer full freedom to select his subjects, motives, angles of view, according to his own inward approval and, above all, proper for each one's talent.

Further, the critic from Iasi looks gloomily at literature and discovers that the talented ones have become "dogmatics," while the writers without talent are champions of civic courage, that "the thirst for what is real no longer is the prerogative of the true writers" while "talent has reached the point of traveling the paths of conformism with exposed joy." He also sees--and how much he sees!--how writings at odds with grammar have become "at the head of the ads for modern literature" and he does not hesitate to write these lines, which we contemplate as having long career in a possible anthology of detractors from modern literature: "Our prose writers write poorly, convinced that the graduates of the industrial secondary schools, taught to limit their horizon of knowledge to exact sciences and that brute good citizenship takes the place of anything. The scornful, out of ignorance, of the traditional forums but avid for experiments, are in the situation of those painters who do not hesitate to throw paint on the canvas in one outburst before being capable of drawing a hand correctly. And, yet, the critics have made them the stars of literature." Such vehement scorn for literature--even if it is in the name of the ideal heights for artistic achievement--seems to me unable to originate from the pen of someone who truly loves literature and respects the creators of it, the great ones and less great. Of course, neither does criticism, in an overall way, escape this painful condemnation since, if it did not cause it, "easily agreed to establishing a state of confusion." "Instead of defending the specific nature of literature," (from whom--editor's note), discouraging annexing tendencies and hindering the ambiguity of values, it was the first not to take into account its purpose." It permitted the "interference of foreign powers (foreign from the cause) in the internal affairs of criticism." Forgetting his surroundings, Al. D. "discovers" an ocean

of obedience, discovers the disappearance of "independent spirits" and touchingly asks, "The question is whether these spirits still exist today, when the independence of opinion brings a 'Fata Morgana.'" In the end, in his opinion, "Just two critics today seem to satisfy this terrible condition: Gheorghe Grigurcu and Al. Cistelean!!" How unilateral this view is in relationship to the diversity of criticism and literature of this period, with its many successes, almost does not have to be pointed out. It is impossible not to see anything but blind ambition and partisan resentment, a "black imagination" and an unfree awareness despite its "criticism." A similar view with that of the critic Gh. Grigurcu, a participant in the same discussion and one which, illustrated by intolerance and passion (basically noncritical), sees in current literature a "grotesque campaign of order," with hidden plans "carried in the office workers' briefcases." "Any retort was smothered, with a state of uniformization of critical awareness having been decreed," writes Gh. Grigurcu, alarmed and alarmingly, having discovered with the same unlikely "black imagination" the "heads of aggressive proletcultism," in exchange protecting the ones he considers the delicate exponents of the authentic current critical spirit in an almost comic way: they "are placed not only in the little house (!) of the 'modernist' element but, rather, through the force of their works, they also cover the Maiorescu-Lovinescu tradition which they continue with indisputable legitimacy." In the opinion of Gh. G., those in this "little house" possess all the qualities: "the pluralism of ideas," "the civility of relationships," "disengagement," "candor," "solid culture," "a sense of value," "awareness of history," "responsibility of their mission," and so forth. All that remains is for you to ask yourself how all these great qualities fit into the "little house?!" Among the residents of Gh. G.'s modernist "little house" we do not meet either S. Cioculescu or Al. Piru, either V. Răpeanu, P. Marcea or I. Vlad: really, as Gh. G. said, "Intolerance is the most serious danger." Observing in passing that among those also not fitting in Gh. G.'s "little house" is Eugen Simion, the well-known Lovinescu exegetist, we recall that he is one of the critics who criticized Gh. G.'s intolerance and even his obtuseness toward the great values of contemporary poetry and so we can understand Gh. G.'s unforgiving treatment of those who have not forgiven him.

Finally, subjectivism, arbitrariness and intolerance freely bloom against the common ground of this "discussion" by CONVORBIRI LITERARE from the old Moldavian capital, which throughout time has accustomed us to another style of literary and artistic life, to discussions on a high ideological level as well as intellectual and moral level, to polemics of ideas expressed with much more clarity, useful to the progress of Romanian literature and consolidation of its values. And how could it use for distinguishing and consolidating values a discussion in which nobody wants to recognize anyone else, in which it is discovered that writers "write poorly," while the critics are living barricaded in "little houses" (probably under siege!), a discussion in which even a balanced critic "consolidates" values by demolishing in passing two great writings by Tudor Arghezi, who "had paid too great a tribute with 'Cîntare Omului' and '1907?!'" Should we believe that CONVORBIRI LITERARE has proposed to build its readership in this way regarding the development of current Romanian literature, to instruct its readers, to make them understand more deeply and clearly the ideological quality and general level of today's creation? Such discussions are too much a form of getting even nourished by an uncritical passion and too little an expression of an objective critical spirit in order to truly be useful to the literary climate and development of literature.

## PRACTICE OF ACCEPTING OUT-OF-DATE DOCTORAL THESES DEPLORED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Jan 82 p 4

[Article by Mihaï Iordanescu]

[Text] Clearly, the more than 14,000 specialists who hold doctor's degrees today in the most diverse scientific branches represent--or should represent--an inexhaustible source of innovative thinking, of ideas capable of actually improving all areas of our social-economic life. The picture thus completed could offer even higher, more optimistic proportions if with anticipation works were to be introduced into this evaluation, works which these doctoral candidates are to work out to receive the title of doctor, works which, as we well know, are based or should be based on a profound and creative investigation of the "hottest" aspects of the dialectics of our social-economic life.

Really, the number of doctoral candidates is a remarkable scientific potential but, in proportion to the giant arsenal of information opportunities and, in particular, the experimental base whose expenses are supported entirely by the state, the due date for fulfilling this potential still remains uncertain. The value of return enters so little into the evaluation of a doctoral work that what overall seems so well orchestrated is often consumed at the real level of matters often without resonance and with temporary results.

And the truths are found best in the field of agronomic scientific research. Not only the strictness of the agricultural calendar, with critical due dates for the proposed projects but, in particular, the organic nature and complexity of stages in the evolution--very spectacular recently--of scientific research require even more powerfully that the entire system for conferring the title of doctor make its presence actually felt within production, so that each work is a certain factor, which can be checked in practice. Despite this, it is precisely here that the current system for conferring the degree of doctor favors an incomprehensible lack of limits and checking in compiling the work. For example, of the 624 specialists today included in the doctoral degree system at the Nicolae Balcescu Agronomic Institute, 52 enrolled before 1965, of course, without having completed their work until now. An even larger figure is seen by those with a "seniority" of between 10-15 years. And such "records" actually are met in other agronomic institutes; for the branches of agriculture, horticulture and veterinary medicine as a whole, of the approximately 1,400 doctoral candidates existing at this time, more than 1,000 have a seniority of greater than 5-6



years, which is calculated as the time needed to work out and turn in the work. Despite this, nobody and nothing requires them to respect any kind of schedule for concluding and presenting the work so that, as we have seen, decades can go by from the point the doctoral thesis is admitted and it is presented.

And all this is under conditions where, as we know, agronomic scientific research is completely and urgently being requested to make its great contribution to solving many of the problems confronting our agriculture. In the spirit of these demands, the Ministry of Education and Instruction a year ago issued a circular which states that "the subjects for the doctoral theses are to be established by the professors' councils at the faculties or scientific councils of the research institutes in collaboration with the production and social-cultural units in close connection with the goals provided in the program-directive for research and with the annual and long-range research plans of the central research institutes and higher education institutions." A fully justifiable decision, a rational one, particularly since we know that the goals of the Program-directive for research have a strict, firm and scientifically substantiated nature, entering like a basic component into the very strategy of our society's development. For that reason, assuming that each professoral council and scientific council would propose to completely respect these indications, how could they do it from the moment that the doctoral subject established and recommended in this way lacks one of the elements which insures its identity: specification of the length of time in which it is to be worked out? This is an organizational aspect of value, often decisive for the social effectiveness of the doctoral thesis.

But there also is an internal aspect which refers to the specific nature of agronomic research. In the areas mentioned, incomparably more than in others, the time factor is the decisive factor. Anybody can admit here the existence of the "time of gold," of an optimum period--only one!--for intervention and scientific finalization, through the loss of which the ideals, solutions, technologies, no matter how valuable, remain in the stage of indefinite potentiality.

Admitting that the subject for the work of each doctoral candidate is an acute problem, what assurance can we still have that it will be applied, from the moment that one never knows when it will be finished?

"Actually, none, as long as the instructions for the organization and completion of the doctoral thesis tolerates maximum instability of the schedules," university professor and docent Liviu Pop, head of the chair of agricultural phytotechnology in the faculty of agriculture in Craiova, answers. It can be explained, can it not? The data for a current experiment no longer can aid in working out a solution to be applied 9-10 years later or even more when generally a doctoral candidate finishes his work. The conditions will be different then, the very complexity of the problem will be different, the priorities will be different, too, so that one should not be surprised when, having been completed at such a long time after the theme was begun as an urgent matter, such a work ends by enriching the archives of the agronomic institutes.

And such a fact causes other equal ones, among which also is the utilization of the research forces, which, of course, involve the doctoral thesis, not always in the key, decisive sectors for raising agricultural production. Of the 90



doctoral candidates enrolled in the N. Balcescu Agronomic Institute in 1981, 46 are working in research-design, 20 in instruction and only 24 in production, while just 5 (among whom, just 2 were declared successful) are in the agricultural production cooperatives. The situation is not a balanced one even for the branches mentioned as a whole. Why? Among other reasons, also because the lack of strictness in establishing the schedules means that the current system for conferring the doctoral degree, in particular, tends to devote the post-university scientific training even less to stimulating a continuous creative effort. So the doctoral degree frequently becomes a goal connected with promotion in the hierarchy and not a means for effective and efficient intervention to improve social and economic life.

8071

CSU: 2700/180

## SINGLE-YEAR TERMS UNDER FIRE IN THREE REPUBLICS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1622, 31 Jan 82 pp 8-9

[Article by Stevan Niksic in the column "League of Communists": "The Dilemma of the Single-Year Term"]

[Text] In a few months it will be just 4 years since Tito stated his "political testament" from the speaker's platform of the 11th LCY Congress in the Sava Center in Belgrade. In his message to the delegates--the concluding speech of the Congress--he resolutely appealed for the promotion of collective labor, the strengthening of responsibility and unity in Yugoslav society. This theme, as a sort of leitmotif, was also dominant in Tito's public appearances during the last years of his life. "I have given much thought to these questions. And I am profoundly convinced that such an approach has still further affirmed collective labor and responsibility, contributing to further democratization of labor in all self-managing and political bodies and preventing individuals from realizing their unhealthy ambitions to be leaders," he said several months later, at a congress of labor unions, explaining his well-known proposal ("initiative") for the promotion of collective labor. This proposal, as is known, contained the suggestion that the "sojourn" in high political offices, "from the community to the federal level," be shortened to 1 year.

During the past few weeks, in connection with discussions of changes in the bylaws of the League of Communists, there has been renewed interest in collective labor and the single-year term. And, perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, the first time that the practical realization of this idea has been publicly discussed, there have been official proposals for the partial modification of certain postulates which until now have been accepted as inherent in this idea by the League of Communists.

## Why Now?

There has been practically constant discussion of how to realize Tito's suggestion in the League of Communists since the moment when it was made. The Presidency of the LCY Central Committee has passed resolutions about collective labor, and the Central Committee has discussed the matter several times. The subject should again be found on the agenda of one of the next sessions of the Central Committee. And all of the other party leaderships in the country, from republic and province to township, as well as all of the branch organizations, have been occupied with this topic for the last few years: basic positions have

been taken, and practical solutions, which are already being widely applied, have been considered. It would, however, be logical to bring this subject up again on the occasion of the definitive formulation of decisions about the bylaws. It is equally logical, now that the idea has already been put into practice for 2 or 3 years and tried out, that we should think somewhat differently about collective labor and the single-year term in political forums than we did when this idea first made its appearance.

#### One, Two or Four?

Proposals that there be some degree of deviation from the strict rule of the single-year term in individual party leaderships are, of course, only proposals. The debate still continues, opinions are somewhat divided, and it is impossible at the present to state its final outcome.

The possibility that in future there might be some deviation in the township leaderships of the League of Communists from the strict application of the 1-year term for the highest officials was announced for the first time in a report of the Bylaws Committee of the LCY Central Committee which was anticipated by members of the Central Committee at the last session. "It has been proposed," the document states, "that this term be 2 plus 2 years, along with other suggestions." The Bylaws Committee did not, however, explain these proposals but suggested that the matter be discussed at the session of the Central Committee and that suitable resolutions be adopted. But it was obvious that the opinions of the members of the LCY Central Committee were divided. It is characteristic that much attention was paid to the Bylaws Committee's viewpoint that, as concerns the organization of the forum of the League of Communists at various "levels," the Bylaws of the LCY should formulate only the basic principles. Everything else, in such a view, could be left to the republics and provinces or the opstinas for their regulation. Individual speakers explicitly supported this possibility as proposed by the Bylaws Committee, while others ardently attacked it. Finally it was resolved that everything must be discussed once more in detail. The opportunity for this would be coming up in the near future at a special session of the LCY Central Committee, at which members would analyze previous experience in the application of resolutions concerning the realization of Tito's proposal, adopted in April 1979. It was stated that at this time it would also be possible to consider individual suggestions put forth in connection with the discussion of changes in the bylaws and related to the "prolongation of term" under discussion.

Proposals that the term of office of high administrative officials in Opstina organizations of the League of Communists be longer than 1 year were, to the author's knowledge, made by three republic organizations: Slovenia, Montenegro and Serbia. The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia proposed, namely, that the term of office of the president of a township conference be 2 years and that it be subject to one renewal. This means a total of 4 years. In Montenegro, it was proposed that the head of an opstina party leadership have a term of 2 years, "under the condition that a new organization be adopted for the forums and the entities of the municipal League of Communists." In addition, a second variant was mentioned--a term of one year--"inasmuch as this office is filled by a volunteer." In Serbia, as explained at the most recent session

of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia [LCS] by Budimir Vukasinovic, a member of its Presidency, the appropriate committee proposed the following: presidents of Opstina, inter Opstina and the City Conference of the League of Communists of Belgrade would be elected for 2 years, and could in addition be chosen for the same offices one more time. As in the proposal from Slovenia, individual party officials could thus remain in the same position for at most 4 years.

The LCS Central Committee did, however, propose several other solutions, about which the Central Committee was also informed. It was, for example, suggested that it not be possible for 1- and 2-year terms to be renewed, that one ought to wait for the session of the LCYCC before taking appropriate stands.... In the ensuing discussion it appeared that there is no unity of opinion among all members of the LCSCC as concerns these proposals.

Dragoman Radoicic appears to have been most strongly opposed to the suggestion that the term of office for individual officials in the League of Communists in future be set at 2 years or that it be made possible for it to last 4 years. Although, says Radoicic, a complete appraisal of how to realize Comrade Tito's proposal was not offered at the LCS, "we are offered certain decisions which are completely out of line with resolutions accepted by the entire LCS." Recalling the proposal once accepted, that the term of office for all administrative offices be 1 year and that it might not be renewed, Radoicic considered the present proposal only a "piece out of context," and that therefore the Central Committee could not take a stand on the issue.

Other members of the LYSCC who had come out against this proposal were, however, significantly better informed about the committee's proposal. Henrik Selic, for example, was of the opinion that it would be dangerous if this were to result in a dividing line being drawn between those who were more and those who were less important to collective labor. He considered that there are great variations within a republic, that the situation is fundamentally different in Nis, for example, than in Trgoviste, and different in Belgrade than in Crna Trava... More account should be taken of actual conditions, says Selic, and flexible solutions should be sought. All previous experience in the application of this idea, in his opinion, speaks against the strict application of the 1-year term in all areas and at all levels... A discussion of this subject showed that there are a fair number of supporters of a unified solution for the entire LCS and the LCY, no matter which of the solutions might finally win out. Both provinces [of Serbia] were united in their opinion that the terms of administrative officials in the League of Communists last only 1 year and that they not be subject to renewal.

"I think that we must find the strength to come to an agreement in Yugoslavia. If we agree that it be 2 years, let it be 2," said Husamedin Azemi. Dedo Hasimbegovic, at this same session of the Central Committee, expressed the fear that the privilege of renewing one's term of office might be misused.

Nor was the discussion in the LYSCC on the length of the term of office in individual party forums brought to a conclusion. Judging by all of this, when proposals for changes in the bylaws are made in the near future at a public discussion, all members of the League of Communists will have an opportunity to have their say on the subject.



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### The Fate of "Rotation"

The present dilemma of how to apply the single-year term in the township organizations of the League of Communists and proposals that this term be lengthened to 2 years or perhaps even to 4, it is stressed, are the result not of any desire to abuse Tito's proposal, but rather of a desire to apply it as effectively as possible, to follow the spirit of his idea of collective labor and to adapt practical solutions to actual conditions and needs.

One can, nevertheless, understand the fear of those who consider that under the pressure of arguments for "practicality" and "different specific conditions" the substance of Tito's plan and his far-sighted warning of the danger of an increase in political bureaucracy, of bureaucratic arbitrariness of individuals and groups and the usurpation of power from the working class, might all easily be lost sight of along with his "testament," in which he called upon all communists, workers and citizens of Yugoslavia to prevent individuals from realizing their unhealthy ambitions to be leaders. It is, therefore, not out of place to recall the fate of a similar idea, in vogue almost 20 years ago. We are thinking of an amendment to the federal constitution, ratified in 1963, which was popularly known as "rotation."

More specifically, it was appended to the Yugoslav constitution in 1963 that no individual may be chosen more than twice in a row for the same political office in a sociopolitical unit. A similar principle was applied for members of workers councils. Individual holders of public offices, particularly directors of work organizations, were according to the constitution bound by the principle of compulsory reappointment every 4 years, and were not subject to the principle of limitation of repeated candidacy. Edvard Kardelj, on one occasion during this period, said that he was in favor of the principle of rotation but did not believe that it would be a necessary feature of the Yugoslav political system as a self-management system. "I think that in a normally functioning democratic mechanism this principle is not necessary," was Kardelj's opinion. Stressing, however, that he was speaking of a historically necessary means of struggle against bureaucracy in contemporary Yugoslav society, Kardelj added: "Whether the principle of rotation of office will be retained in the future is a question which will be resolved not by us but by future generations..."

The principle of rotation, as provided by the constitution, affected only "government" offices and not those in sociopolitical organizations. During the first years of application of this principle, which has remained in essence unchanged and is contained in the present constitution, ratified in 1974, it was shown to be in fact quite effective in its role in the democratization of personnel policy.

[Box]

### Trivial Criticisms

Last week the Constitutional Committee of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Serbia discussed political offices and officials, a discussion which

would appear to be connected with the coming elections. This time it was a discussion of the meaning of the term "same office," mentioned in the republic's constitution. In the second amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia is found the principle of limitation of repeated consecutive election or appointment to the same office. It turned out, however, that this principle can be interpreted in (at least) two ways. The question is, namely, whether "same office" refers to all offices of any particular category or not. Offices such as, for example, "republic secretary," republic inspector, head of an agency... Irrespective of whether one is republic secretary for economy and the other, perhaps, for culture... If these were not the same office, then most likely there would be nothing to prevent someone who is currently secretary in one sector from "obtaining" a second term in another sector.

A sort of curiosity is the interpretation which was accepted at this time at the session of the Constitutional Committee. It was concluded, namely, that the phrase "same office" be considered to denote only those offices which are completely identical. In other words, this means that there would be nothing to prevent a republic secretary currently in "control" of one sector to be "re-assigned to another sector during the next term of office, or to stop the president of one council of an assembly from being elected president of another council of the same assembly for the following term. The chief of one opstina body, who has held this office for a total of 8 years, could change his "company" and remain chief for 8 more years...

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## INCREASE IN FEDERAL JOB-HOLDERS DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 82 p 2

[Article by Jovan Radovanovic: "From the Federation and Back"]

[Text] While on the one hand it is difficult to attract highly-qualified personnel of proven abilities to work in government agencies, on the other hand those whose term of office has long since expired are reluctant to depart, so that the number of employees in the machinery of government, despite all sorts of criticism, increases from year to year.

"The more subordinates, the greater the general." With this saying Zlata Rakic-Josifova, delegate of the party organization of federal labor unions, attempted recently to explain the constant expansion of the "upper echelon" of the administration.

Speaking right at a session of the Conference of Local Branches of the League of Communists [employed] in federal agencies and organizations, devoted to personnel policy, Josifova interpreted the uninterrupted increase in number of employees, especially in the auxiliary services of federal agencies and to the detriment of highly qualified, trained personnel, whose abilities have been proven both at work and politically--for whom, by the way, the federal government is experiencing a chronic shortage--as due in part to the great powers of decision-making accorded to administrators. Four administrators will be hired before two truly capable, qualified advisors. This results in an increase in people involved in technical matters, as couriers and copyists. Many "subordinates" [means] few thinkers and few original ideas.

### Figures Under Criticism

Government expansion is constantly the focus of social criticism. Despite this, the federal government itself is always pointing out its shortages of personnel, in this case highly qualified personnel. The Committee of the Conference of Local Branches of the League of Communists [employed] in federal agencies and organizations attempted to convince us that the numbers so often cited can often be deceptive.

Namely, the 28,220 employees of federal agencies and organizations also include members of the Presidency of SFRY, the presidencies of socio-political organizations, as well as those employed in the Association of Yugoslav Railroad Workers, in several news agencies, in scholarly institutes, libraries, and museums. The federal government as it is usually understood--to be secretaries, commissions, bureaus, departments, and the various technical services of the Federal Executive Council employs 17,236 workers and 366 high officials and supervisors.

The greatest numbers are employed by four federal government agencies: the Federal [Secretariat] of Foreign Affairs, the Federal [Secretariat for] Internal Affairs, the Federal Flight Control Administration, and the Federal Customs Administration--10,837 workers. The technical services of the Federal Executive Council, which comprise various repair services and auxiliary services, employ 2,165 workers. It thus turns out that all the remaining agencies of the federal government, federal organizations and technical services of the Federal Executive Council employ a total of 4,234 people. This is literally what is found in the statistical survey of personnel--"a total of 4,234 workers."

#### Both Sides of the Coin

We do not wish to take up in this article the question of whether there are many or few employees or whether they are utilized rationally enough. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note two facts: from 1975 until the middle of last year the number of workers employed in agencies of the federal government rose by 3,897. Throughout this period according to the accepted system of listing there remained between two and two-and-one-half thousand unfilled positions at all times. The second fact is related to the first: there are practically six times as many unskilled workers as was anticipated in the job plan! This is why one-third of the positions requiring high qualifications remained unfilled for years.

#### Why?

Positions other than those of high government officials and administrators are no longer as attractive as they once were.

Qualified skilled personnel are reluctant to enter the labor organizations of federal agencies. The reasons for this are: great responsibility, complicated assignments, salaries no longer so attractive, increased difficulty of quickly being granted a [government owned] apartment, and spouse's employment and children's schooling in the case of relocation from one of the republics or provinces. Many are discouraged by the hierarchical, bureaucratic relations in the federal administration.

This is, nevertheless, only one side of the coin. In the rather sharply critical analysis prepared for the session of the Conference of the Local Branches of the League of Communists [employed] in the federal agencies and



organizations, it is stated literally that there is still quite a lot of poor work and overpayment but little reward for work well done and that the wrong people for the job remain for too long in important positions. Although members of the Conference Committee justified the severity of their critical formulations by the need for an analysis which would have a mobilizing effect all are of the opinion that there is much room for critical evaluation of personnel policies everywhere, including federal organizations.

#### Ministerial Rank

If on the one hand it is thought that capable people are reluctant to begin working in federal organizations, there is a sizeable group of those who when their terms of office are up are still more reluctant to return to the milieu from which they have come. And while there is talk that "incomplete persons" should not be allowed to begin working in federal institutions, meaning by this those who have inadequate training, not formal training but experience, others mention the "structural surpluses of personnel." And although in a large number of work organizations it is clear that there are younger workers, there is mention of the accumulation and even the invention of administrative positions with "ministerial rank" for "deserving friends."

There were also those at the session of the Conference who accused a federal social legal officer of self-management because in a recent issue of BORBA he made public some facts about the large number of people with special status and authority. The facts cannot be altered by objections that none of this is new, that these are well-known things, and that the legal officer should have done something about this instead of "advertising" the matter in the newspapers. But the fact cannot be denied that there are people in federal organizations holding fabricated positions, so that we find directors of sections in which there is not a single employee.

#### Unassigned for Years

A special case is that of the so-called unassigned personnel, or available personnel. In the federal government alone there are 180 unassigned personnel in organizations from the republics and provinces who have been doing practically nothing for 5 or more years or, as stated more tactfully in the records, who are "not engaged in work." There is in fact a law that high government officials are entitled to receive their salary for one year after their term of office has ended, while if they have been in high administrative offices for more than 12 years this right is extended to 3 years, and if they have been administrators for more than 20 years--to 6 years.

The majority of such people, we learn, are in fact close to retirement, and after finishing all their terms of office, could not be returned to the position in which they had started their career decades earlier because these positions simply no longer exist. Among them are honorable and worthy veterans who built up this system and who are now ashamed of the fact that there are no longer any assignments for them--but their pay envelopes are full on the first of every month. But there is a considerable number of those who are suited by such a status, for whom there is no place in the organizations from which they came, which sometimes play dumb, forgetting their "own" people, or even openly refuse to take them back.

Thought up as a means to "entice" the required personnel, as a protective device to increase the security of those who in a moment of panic might wonder what would happen after their term of office had expired, this arrangement, judging by the criticism with which it is met, has in practice become distorted. There is an ever increasing demand, therefore, that the republics and provinces state specifically their responsibilities and obligations towards those personnel whom they send to work for the federal government and whom they afterward, it turns out, avoid taking back.

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